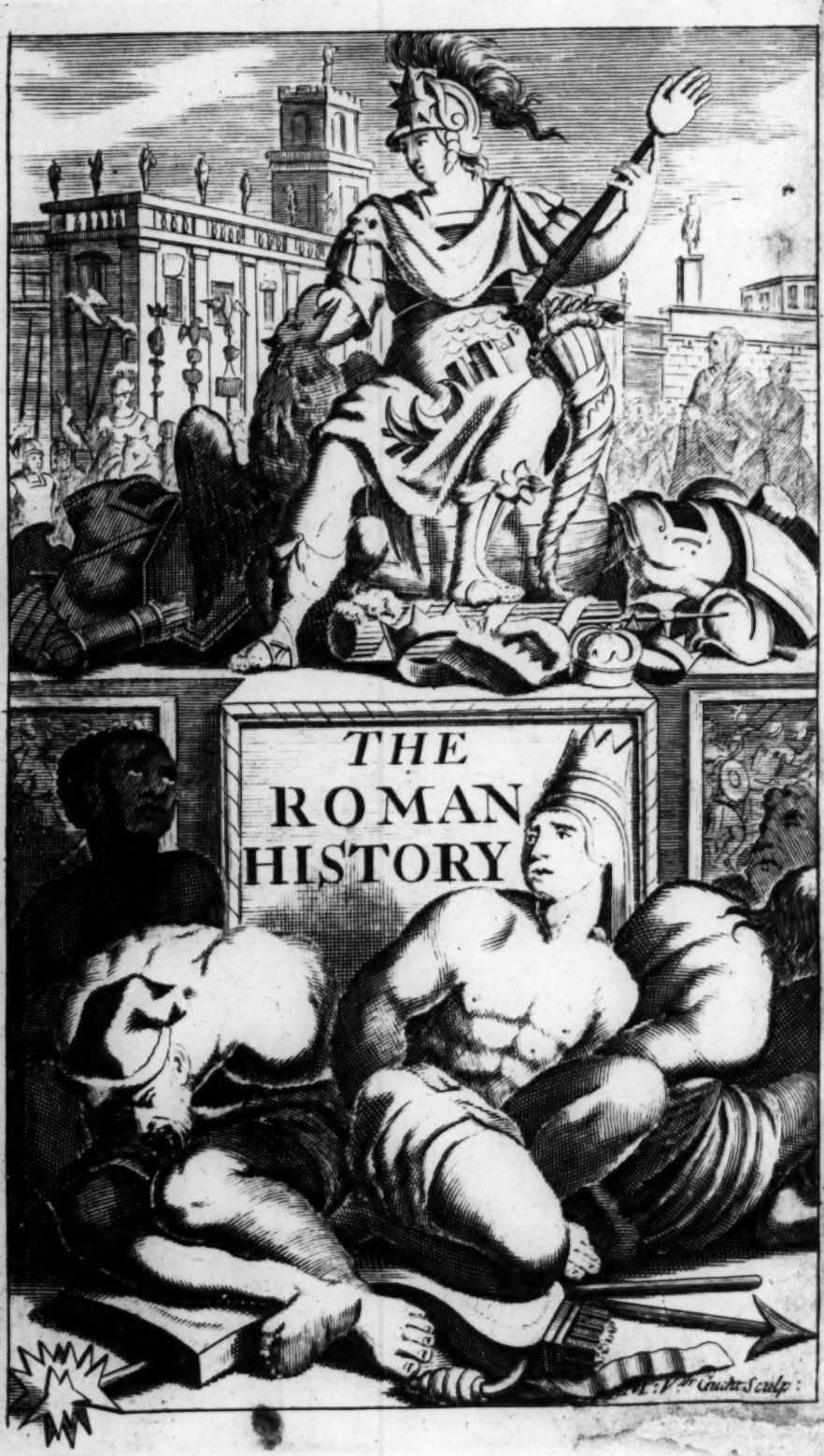
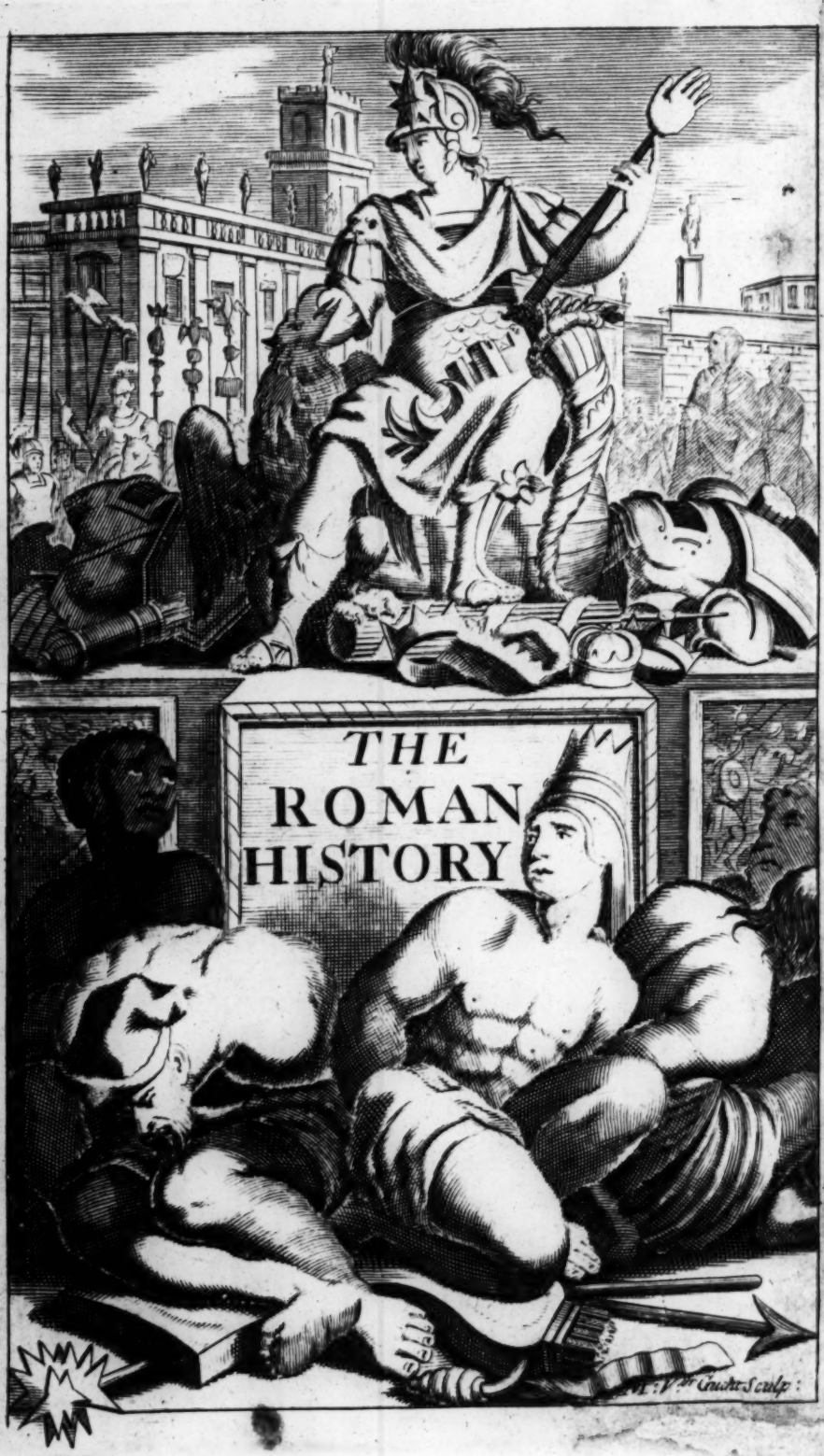

THE
ROMAN
HISTORY


THE
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THE

ROMAN HISTORY,

From the Removal of the

Imperial Seat

BY

Conſtantine the Great,

To the Total Failure of

The WESTERN EMPIRE

IN

AUGUSTULUS,

Containing the Space of 146 *Years.*

VOL. III.

The FOURTH EDITION.

Revis'd, with a Recommendatory PREFACE, by *LAURENCE ECHARD*, A. M.
Being a Continuation of his Hiſtory.

LONDON:

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Mr. ECHARD's

PREFACE.

HAving reſolv'd not to concern my ſelf further in the *Roman Hiſtory*, I am deſir'd to write a Line or two in Relation to this *Third Volume*, which is written by One whoſe Perſon is unknown to me. I dare not preſume to ſet up for a Judge in Matters of this Nature; but according to my Opinion, I believe it to be a very well digeſted, uſeful and entertaining Hiſtory; eſpecially to all ſuch as have thought fit to read over the two firſt Volumes upon this Subject. The Author's Method ſeems to be clear and natural, his Tranſitions neat and illuſtrating, and his Reflections and Obſervations judicious and inſtructive; particularly in Page 170, 171, and the Concluſion. His Stile, in the main, I take to be Grave,

Manly, and proper for the Greatneſs of the Subject; in which there is Perſpicuity without Meanneſs, Strength without Stiffneſs, and Politeneſs without Affectation. This is what it appears to me, after a careful Peruſal of this Work; But, as I wanted Opportunity of examining it with the Ancient and Original Authors, from whence it was taken; ſo all that I can ſay as to that Matter is, That I have no Reaſon to think it unfaithful or defective: And I am glad to find my own Deſign ſo well incourag'd, and ſo advantageouſly purſu'd.

Louth in *Lincolnſhire*, *Novemb.* 6. 1703.

Lau. Echard.

The

The Author's

PREFACE.

THE *great Succeſs the two Firſt Volumes of the* Roman *Hiſtory met with in the World, tho' it was no more than what was due to the Author's Merit, was however an undeniable Inſtance of its extraordinary Uſefulneſs and Entertainment. As the Subject was great and peculiar, ſo was it written with a Genius equal to it; and the ſeveral Excellencies of thoſe ancient Authors that have been made uſe of in the framing this Hiſtory ſeem blended together, ſo as to dreſs it out in all the Beauties of Antiquity. Theſe obvious Conſiderations made me think, that at leaſt the vulgar Readers might probably deſire to know what was the*

End of that State, which had been ſo extraordinary in its Beginning; and to leave it with the Second Volume look'd, in my Opinion, like a Ceremony too much in practice amongſt ſome Men, who ſtick faſt to their Friends in their Proſperity, but drop 'em with the firſt Opportunity, when once Fortune has forſaken 'em. The Roman *Greatneſs appear'd too Majeſtick, even in its Ruins, not to require our Attention; for Great Men, as whilſt living they are gaz'd upon with Admiration, ſo when dead are they uſually attended with a ſolemn Reverence to their Graves: But another more prevailing Motive made me wiſh a Continuation of this Hiſtory. The Enemies of Chriſtianity have imputed the Downfal of the* Roman *Empire to the Principles of our Religion, as if it choak'd in its Profeſſors the Courage, Vigour and Generoſity of their Fore-fathers, and taught 'em to be ſluggiſh, unactive, and no otherwiſe than paſſively Valiant; that it was inconſiſtent with that Greatneſs of Mind, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſh'd the ancient* Romans *from the*

the reſt of their Cotemporaries, and introduc'd a Poorneſs of Spirit, that made 'em careleſs and inſenſible of their ancient Glory.

This was not only glanc'd at by the Heathen Writers of thoſe Times, but is too frequently inſiſted upon in common Diſcourſe by ſome Men of this Age, who think themſelves wiſer than the reſt of Mankind, and aſſume a Privilege of condemning the Senſe of all thoſe whoſe Reaſon won't ſuffer 'em to concur with them in their airy Fancies, and ill-grounded Imaginations. The Reader, upon a Peruſal of the following Sheets, will find the Fallacy of thoſe Inſinuations, and that the Downfal of the Roman *Empire was owing to other Cauſes than what has been ſuggeſted by theſe Men; and that both Principles and Practices, very oppoſite to thoſe enjoin'd by the Goſpel, occaſion'd its Ruin.*

The Author's Preface.

As ſoon as I underſtood that he, who was beſt able, intended to concern himſelf no farther in it, I was perſuaded to undertake this Third Volume; but by that time I had diligently conſulted the Original Authors, from whom I was to be ſupply'd, and had recourſe to thoſe Modern Writers, upon whoſe Aſſiſtance I in a great meaſure depended, I quickly found how much Difficulty there was in the Attempt. However, the Encouragement I receiv'd from ſome who had the Peruſal of the Firſt Part of it, who were Men of too much Learning and Judgment to be deceiv'd themſelves, and of too much Integrity to deceive me, made me proceed with great Chearfulneſs; nor, 'till the Publick Cenſure of the World has condemn'd me, will I repent of my Undertaking.

I have throughout this Third Volume aim'd at ſo much Sincerity, the very Life of Hiſtory, that I may preſume to tell the Engliſh *Reader he muſt not think himſelf con-*

converſing with a Modern Writer in the following Sheets, but with Ammianus Marcellinus *himſelf, with* Zozimus, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Caſſiodorus, *and the reſt; the Subſtance of whoſe Hiſtories, as far as they related to my preſent Deſign, I endeavour'd faithfully to recite, diveſted of that Partiality, which, upon an unbiaſs'd Enquiry, appear'd too notorious in ſome of the beſt among 'em, and are a manifeſt Inſtance to us of Human Frailty. Nor muſt I omit the great Helps I receiv'd from Monſieur* Le Seur, *and Doctor* Howell, *who at leaſt directed me in my Enquiries, and often help'd me out in my Method and Obſervations.*

As I am ready to confeſs my ſelf far from being perfect in my Performance, ſo, by way of Excuſe, may I be allow'd to reply, that neither are theſe my Guides infallible; they are moſt of 'em diſtinguiſh'd by ſome peculiar Failings, which I have endeavour'd to avoid, becauſe I knew I was to be anſwerable for Faults enow of my own. I

have

have interſerted ſo much of the Church Affairs, as I thought would appear to be of a piece with the Body of the Hiſtory. If the Reader finds my Time not ill ſpent, my Deſign is anſwer'd, nor will I be concern'd at the Opinion of ſome Men, with whom Learning is of ſo ſmall a value, that a bare Pretention to, or Acquaintance with it, is an unanſwerable Objection with them, as if that Man was unfit to thrive in the World, who entertain'd Thoughts that ſoar'd above the Dregs of it.

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THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

VOL. III.

From the Removal of the Imperial Seat by Conſtantine *the Great, to the Total Failure of the Weſtern Empire in* Auguſtulus.

Containing the Space of about 146 *Years.*

CHAP. I.

From the Removal of the Imperial Seat by Conſtantine *the Great, to the Admiſſion of the* Goths *into* Thrace.

Containing about 45 *Years.*

HOW prevalent ſoever the Reaſons that induc'd *Conſtantine* to ſettle the Imperial Seat at *Byzantium* appear'd then to him, Experience has ſince ſhown they were weak and impolitick; for undoubtedly by that the *Roman* Great- A. D. 330.

neſs receiv'd a fatal Stroke: And the Reader will find, in the Proſecution of this Hiſtory, which we intend, God willing, to continue down to the Total Failure of the Weſtern Empire in *Auguſtulus*, that it never after appear'd in its natural Vigour; but like Flowers tranſplanted into a Foreign Clime, languiſh'd by degrees, and ſhrunk at length into nothing.

However, as he deſign'd to fix his own Court there for the future, ſo he deſir'd it might be honour'd with the ordinary Reſidence of the ſucceeding Emperors; for which Purpoſe he omitted no Coſt or Labour, that might render it either beautiful or convenient, and by that Means invite 'em thither. He divided it into fourteen Regions, built a Capitol, made a *Circus Maximus*, an Amphitheatre, ſeveral *Forums*, *Porticus's*, and other publick Works; which, together with the many Churches built upon a Religious Account, added much to the Luſtre of the City. The Magnificence of which when he found it anſwerable to the Greatneſs of his Deſign, in a very ſolemn Dedication he conſecrated it *To the God of the Martyrs*; encourag'd the Inhabitants by many Acts of Grace, ſecur'd them by many wholſome Laws, and Royal Immunities; for finding himſelf for two or three Years paſt diſengag'd from War, he had more leiſure to purſue his other Deſigns; but the Year following he was drawn by the *Sarmatians* into their Quarrel with the *Goths*, who finding *Conſtantine* had evacuated all the Garriſons along the *Danube*, made new Irruptions into *Mœſia* and *Thrace*, where they committed unheard of Cruelties, and ravag'd the Country; but the Emperor, by his Son *Conſtantine*, obtain'd a memorable Victory over 'em, and finiſh'd the War with that Succeſs, that near a hundred thouſand of the Enemy were deſtroy'd by Hunger and Cold, beſides thoſe that fell by

A. D. 332.

by the Sword; upon which they were conſtrain'd to ſue for Peace, and deliver up Hoſtages to the Emperor, among whom was their King's Son.

The *Sarmatæ* thus deliver'd from the Inroads of the *Goths*, were, two Years after, more cruelly oppreſs'd by their own Slaves, whom in their Extremities they had been forc'd to arm againſt their Enemies, and who by that means grown ſenſible of their Strength, threw off the Yoke, and turn'd their Arms againſt their Maſters, for whoſe Defence they had been entruſted in their Hands; and herein they ſucceeded ſo well, that they forc'd 'em, to the Number of three hundred thouſand of both Sexes, all Ages and Conditions, to fly for Refuge to the Emperor; by whom they were diſpos'd in ſeveral Parts of *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Macedonia*, and *Italy*, but ſuch among 'em as were fit for Service he incorporated in his Legions. This Example being follow'd by ſeveral of the ſucceeding Emperors, prov'd very pernicious to the Empire; for theſe Barbarians growing too ſtrong for the natural Inhabitants, among whom they were ſettled, by degrees diſpoſſeſs'd their Landlords, and became Maſters of the Country. This Year *Syria* and *Cilicia* were grievouſly afflicted with a Peſtilence and Famine, which ſwept off an infinite Number of People, as likewiſe a great many were deſtroy'd by an Earthquake in *Cyprus*. A. D. 333.

And as theſe Parts of the Body Politick labour'd under thoſe Civil Calamities, ſo was the Church no leſs afflicted with inteſtine Diſtractions; for about this time we find *Athanaſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, cruelly perſecuted by the prevailing *Arians*, and formally condemn'd in the Council of *Tyre*, for ſeveral pretended Crimes objected againſt him: From whence we may learn, how fatal the Proſperity the Church then enjoy'd prov'd to her, how it open'd the Gates of the Sanctuary it ſelf to Corruption,

and infatuated ſo many of her Teachers with Envy, Malice, and Ambition.

Theſe things happen'd in the thirtieth Year of the Emperor's Reign, at which time *Calocerus*, a Man of great Authority in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, procur'd himſelf to be declar'd Emperor: But *Dalmatius* being ſent with an Army againſt him, defeated him, and took him Priſoner; and having ſettled all things in that Iſland, he carry'd him to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, where he was burnt alive.

For this Service he was created *Cæſar*, together with *Conſtans* the Emperor's third Son, in the ſame Year, being the thirtieth of *Conſtantine*'s Reign, which he celebrated at *Conſtantinople* with great
A. D. 336. Magnificence: And the Year following *Conſtantius*, his ſecond, was marry'd to *Euſebia*, a Lady of an illuſtrious Birth, and extraordinary Knowledge for one of her Sex. The Nuptials were ſolemniz'd with all imaginable Splendor, the Men and Women feaſted apart, and the Emperor, in honour thereof, beſtowed Gifts upon all Nations and Cities. Theſe Feaſtings were prolong'd by the Arrival of ſome Ambaſſadors from the *Eaſt-Indies*, who brought him Preſents of great Value, but greater Rarity; not only precious Stones, but ſeveral Animals unknown before to the Weſtern Parts of the World; intimating, as my Author has it, that his Empire extended to the utmoſt Bounds of the Ocean, and that as *Britain*, the Limits of the Weſt, ſubmitted to him at his firſt Promotion, ſo now at laſt the *Indians* in the Eaſt acknowledg'd his Sovereign Authority.

Having receiv'd this Homage from the *Indian* Ambaſſadors, he divided the Government of the Empire in this manner; *Conſtantine* the Eldeſt commanded in *Gaul*, and ſome Weſtern Provinces; *Conſtantius* govern'd *Africk* and *Illyricum*; and *Conſtans* rul'd in *Italy*. *Dalmatius* was ſent to defend thoſe Parts

Parts that border'd upon the *Goths*; and *Annibalianus* had the Charge of *Cappadocia*, and *Armenia* the leſs. This Diviſion was not made by *Conſtantine*, as if he intended by that to diveſt himſelf of his Sovereignty, but for the better Government of the Empire, and Education of his Sons, tho' it ſeem'd indeed an Ominous Introduction to that Partition, which was made in little more than a Year after. He was now near ſixty Years of Age, and yet was ſo healthy and vigorous as to endure Exerciſe, Riding, and Travel; of ſo perfect an Underſtanding as to be able ſtill to compoſe Prayers and Orations, and aſſiſt with much Dexterity at the framing his Laws both Civil and Military.

Not long before his Death he made a Funeral Oration, in which he diſcours'd much of the Immortality of the Soul, and the Rewards and Puniſhments of another Life; by theſe, and ſuch like Methods, preparing for himſelf an eaſie Diſmiſſion out of this; 'till his Meditations were interrupted by the Diſturbance the *Perſians* made in the Eaſt, of which, as ſoon as he receiv'd an Account, he rais'd a powerful Army, intending, as he ſaid, to make this his laſt Victory; but the Enemy being advertis'd of his ſudden Expedition, and fearing to be engag'd in a War with him, diſpatch'd away their Ambaſſadors, who, upon an humble Deſire of his Friendſhip, and a Promiſe to make good whatever Satisfaction ſhould be requir'd, obtain'd a Peace. After this, finding himſelf feaveriſh and diſtemper'd, he made uſe of the warm Baths of the City, but receiving no Benefit from thence, he remov'd for change of Air to *Helenopolis* (a City built by him in Memory of his Mother) and from thence to *Nicomedia*; in the Suburbs of which Place, call'd *Achyrona*, he was Baptiz'd, declaring he deſign'd to have receiv'd that Seal of his Salvation in the Wa- A. D. 337.

ters of *Jordan*, but God in his infinite Wiſdom had otherwiſe diſpos'd of him. Then having partaken of the Holy Euchariſt, he departed this Life on the two and twentieth Day of *May*, in the 62d Year of his Age, and 32d of his Reign (tho' the punctual time as to both is not fully agreed upon) the firſt Year of the 279th *Olympiad*, the 1090th Year of *Rome*, *An. Dom.* 337. *Fab. Tatianus* and *Felicianus* being Conſuls, and about ſeven Years after the Removal of the Imperial Seat to *Conſtantinople*. Thus dy'd *Conſtantine* the Great, to the unexpreſſible Grief of the whole Empire, eſpecially of the Church, which he had freed from Tyranny, and a moſt horrible Perſecution.

Conſtantine *dies.*

His Character.

The Character of this Emperor is variouſly deſcrib'd, according to the various Paſſions and Affections of thoſe Authors who have writ concerning him; the Heathen Writers wounding his Memory with all the Virulence imaginable, and the Chriſtians beautifying it with accumulated Honours and Encomiums; however they all agree in this, that he was a Prince of innumerable Excellencies both of Body and Mind, ambitious of Military Glory, fortunate in War, but not more Fortunate than Induſtrious; a great Promoter of Learning, and of himſelf much addicted to Read, Write, and Meditate; if he was ſometimes over credulous, as in the Caſe of his Wife *Fauſta*, and the *Euſebiens*, by whoſe artificial Inſinuations he was induced to Diſcountenance St. *Athanaſius*, and the Orthodox Chriſtians, it proceeded more from the Eaſineſs than Malignity of his Nature, and was a Fault in others rather than in himſelf. His improvident Removal to *Conſtantinople*, and fatal Diviſion of the Empire at his Death, are indeed Errors too apparent to be vindicated: But then his Zeal for the Goſpel, and the Protection he gave it throughout his Dominions, made

made his Subjects and Poſterity a Compenſation more than equivalent, by opening to 'em the Gates of Everlaſting Life, and giving 'em a Title to a better Kingdom, of an Eternal Duration.

The Soldiers, ſo ſoon as they heard of the Emperor's Death, tore their Cloaths, fell proſtrate on the Ground, knock'd their Heads againſt the Walls, and gave other Publick Teſtimonies of their Sorrow, as were agreeable to ſo general a Calamity; whilſt their Officers in mournful and paſſionate Expreſſions call'd him their *Preſerver*, *Deliverer*, *and Common Parent*; and the Townſmen joining with the reſt in the Solemnity of Woe, ran like Mad-men about the Streets, or ſate at home bewailing their Loſs, dejected and oppreſs'd with Sorrow. When Grief would give 'em leave, the Soldiers took up the Body, and, covering it with Purple, carry'd it in a ſolemn manner to *Conſtantinople*, where it was expos'd in the Palace, with Lights burning round it, and Attendants watching it. Here Court was kept as if he had been ſtill living; the great Officers that were wont to adore or ſalute, doing their Duty to him now as formerly; the Senate and all the Magiſtrates paid him the ſame Reſpect, and the Citizens were not wanting to teſtifie their deep Senſe of his Loſs, who had been ſo Noble a Founder and Benefactor to the City. Nor did Old *Rome* forget to ſympathize with the New; for as ſoon as they heard of his Death all their Shops and Publick Baths were ſhut up, their Sports and Recreations which were us'd in times of Proſperity were intermitted. So publick was the Loſs of one Prince, who in his Life had been ſo general a Bleſſing.

II. *Conſtantius* (while his Brethren were abſent) arriv'd at *Nicomedia* ſoon after his Father's Deceaſe, and his firſt Act of Authority was

his putting to Death his Uncle *Conſtantius Dalmatius*, and his Sons *Conſtantius Cæſar*, and *Anaballianus*: Tho' ſome think he no more than barely permitted, rather than order'd theſe Executions; yet they who plead, by way of Excuſe, his Father's Command in his laſt Will, becauſe they attempted to poiſon him, as ſome have improbably reported, and the Danger of Competition (for three Brothers were thought ſufficient for the Government of the Empire) leave no room to doubt of the large ſhare he had in 'em. However it were, this Act no way deterr'd the Soldiers from declaring him and his Brethren *Auguſti*, or Emperors, which they did on the fifth of the *Ides* of *September*; and ſome time after the Diviſion of the Empire was confirm'd between 'em at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*. In which Diviſion, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and part of *Africa Proconſularis* fell to *Conſtantine* the eldeſt; to *Conſtans* the youngeſt, *Italy*, with the reſt of *Africk*, *Illyricum*, *Macedonia* and *Greece*, and thoſe Parts that border'd upon the *Euxine* Sea; and to *Conſtantius*, *Mœſia*, *Thrace*, with *Conſtantinople*, *Aſia*, *Egypt*, and the Eaſtern Empire, as far as from *Illyricum* to *Niſibis*. This Partition, tho' founded upon their Father's Teſtament, was not made without ſome Heat and Diſſatisfaction; which, tho' compos'd for ſome time by *Conſtantius*, prov'd in the end fatal to the eldeſt, who thinking his Share too little for an elder Brother, demanded of *Conſtans* no leſs than the reſt of *Africk*, and all *Italy*; and to make good his Claim invaded his Brother's Territories with a powerful Army, and was ſlain near *Aquileia*, in the third Year of his Reign.

A. D. 338. In the mean time *Conſtantius* remov'd into *Syria* againſt *Sapor*, King of *Perſia*; who preſuming upon *Conſtantine*'s Death, and the mean Opinion he had of his Children, had ravag'd *Meſopotamia*, and was

ſate

ſate down before *Niſibis*, which *Conſtantius* was reſolv'd to relieve, but the Work was done to his Hands before his Arrival; for *Sapor* deſpairing of Succeſs had rais'd the Siege, and was retiring back. This was attributed to the Sanctity of *James* the Biſhop, during whoſe Life and Reſidence there all his Deſigns againſt that City were ineffectual.

After this *Conſtantius*, that he might have leiſure to attend other Affairs, incited the *Arabians* to invade King *Sapor*, and divert him elſewhere; whilſt he, intent upon ſuch Regulations in that Country as he found neceſſary, iſſued out ſeveral Edicts to that purpoſe, by one eſpecially inhibiting all Inceſtuous Marriages, under no leſs a Penalty than that of Death. Here we ſhall leave him, 'till the Affairs in *Italy* call upon him to revenge the Murder of his Brother *Conſtans*, who was now become ſole Emperor of the Weſt by the Death of *Conſtantine*, and in the Year 341 gain'd a Battel againſt the *Franks* in *Gaul*, and the Year following overthrew and quieted them; from thence he came over into *Britain* to puniſh the *Scots* and *Picts*, who had ſtarted out into Rebellion. The Particulars of this Expedition, which were recorded in the former Part of *Ammianus Marcellinus* his Hiſtory, are with that Piece loſt to Poſterity. After this he return'd into *Gaul*, and having obtain'd to himſelf a quiet Poſſeſſion of his Brother's Provinces he grew remiſs, and through his Intemperance contracted an ill Habit of Health, which render'd him very unfit for Buſineſs, and regardleſs of the State; nor did he take care to ſupply it with honeſt and able Miniſters, but preferr'd thoſe to the moſt profitable Employments, who were able to lay down the moſt Mony for 'em, and who for that reaſon oppreſs'd the People by an irregular Adminiſtration; the *Odium* of which, as it is cuſtomary in ſuch Caſes, flew

A. D. 341. Conſtans *his Wars in* Gaul.

A. D. 349. Magnentius *Rebels.*

ſhew back upon himſelf. This, together with his Inactivity, which had render'd him diſagreeable to the Army, and the Abſence of *Conſtantius*, who was employ'd in the *Perſian* War, encourag'd *Magnentius*, who had the Command of two Legions, to ſet up for himſelf, in which he was aſſiſted by *Marcellinus* Præfect of the Treaſury. *Marcellinus*, in Honour of his Son's Birth-day, had invited *Magnentius*, and ſeveral among the chief of the Army, to a Supper; and about Midnight, whilſt they were in the height of their Jollity, *Magnentius* upon a pretence of ſome neceſſary Occaſion withdrew, but a ſhort time after return'd in the Imperial Robes attended by a Guard. Thoſe of the Company who were privy to the Deſign immediately ſaluted him with the Title of Emperor, and the reſt, who at firſt look'd on it as no other than a Play or a Jeſt, (and as ſuch it's probable, had the Plot miſcarry'd, they intended it ſhould paſs) ſurpriz'd with the thing, at laſt follow'd their Example. Several of the chief Citizens of *Autun*, where this Scene was acted, were then in Company, who concurring with the reſt induc'd the Inhabitants to ſalute and own him as *Auguſtus*; by which means he ſeiz'd on the Palace, and diſtributed Mony among the Multitude, they who continu'd Loyal to their Prince being too weak to oppoſe him. Having proceeded thus far, he ſent *Gaiſo*, a principal Commander in the Army, with a Party of Men to diſpatch *Conſtans*; who being advis'd of what had paſs'd, threw off the Imperial Robe, thinking to make his Eſcape, but was murder'd by *Gaiſo* himſelf in a Place call'd *Helena*, a little Village at the Foot of the *Pyrenees*. Thus fell *Conſtans* in the tenth Year after the Death of *Conſtantine* his Brother, in the Conſulſhip of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, *An. Dom.* 350. His violent End may ſeem a juſt Return of Providence upon

Procures Conſtans *to be murder'd.*

A. D. 350.

upon him for the Murther of his Brother, and his looſe intemperate Life. At his firſt Entrance upon the Government his Adminiſtration was both juſt and vigorous; and it may be ſaid of him throughout his whole Reign, that all the Provinces under his Juriſdiction enjoy'd a continu'd Serenity; for he kept the Neighbouring Nations in Peace about him, which was attributed rather to his Art in procuring of Hoſtages, than the Terror of his Arms: But his Tyrannical Deportment after his Brother's Death, his Licentious Life, and the little Care he had to ſee the Diſcipline of the Army ſtrictly obſerv'd, encourag'd *Magnentius* to riſe up againſt him, and Crown his Rebellion with his Death. A. D. 350.

But the People quickly found themſelves the Loſers in this unhappy Change, for *Magnentius* was of a cruel barbarous Nature, and being elevated with his Succeſs caus'd all the Magiſtrates in the Country, whom he had ſent for in *Conſtans* his Name, before his Death was known, to be murder'd upon the Road; nor could he reſtrain his Hands from the Blood of ſome of thoſe who were Conſpirators with him. Notwithſtanding all theſe his Cruelties, and tho' he had declar'd his two Brothers, *Decentius* and *Deſiderius*, *Cæſars*, and at the ſame time diſpatch'd 'em to make ſure of *Gaul* and *Spain*, yet was his Sovereignty frail and precarious; for no ſooner had *Nepotianus*, the Nephew of *Conſtantine* the Great, heard of the Death of *Conſtans*, but he went with a Company of Gladiators, and ſeveral others of broken and deſperate Fortunes, who had eſpouſed his Cauſe, to ſeize on *Rome*, which ſome of *Magnentius* his Party had ſecur'd before, wherefore he ſate down before the City and Beſieg'd it; but engaging with *Marcellinus*, whom *Magnentius* had ſent with an Army againſt him, he was defeated, and loſt his Head, after he had pleas'd himſelf with the

Magnentius *his Cruelty.*

Nepotianus *ſets up for himſelf.*

Nepotianus *defeated and ſlain.*

the Title of Emperor twenty ſeven Days. But Heav'n, which thought fit to puniſh *Magnentius* for his perfidious Ingratitude to his Maſter, rais'd him up another Competitor in the Perſon of *Veteranio*, General of the Foot in *Pannonia*. He fearing leaſt *Magnentius*, who was now become Maſter of *Italy*, ſhould break into *Pannonia*, and poſſeſs himſelf of that Country too, aſſum'd the Imperial Robe, and was ſaluted Emperor by the Legions under his Command, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he ſecur'd that Province, and fix'd his Head Quarters at *Murſa* a Town belonging to it. Some ſay he advertis'd *Conſtantius* of his Proceedings, promiſing to aſſiſt him againſt *Magnentius*, which will not ſeem improbable if we conſider the kind Uſage he afterwards met with from that Emperor, who receiv'd the News of his Brother's Death, and *Magnentius* his Uſurpation, with a Reſentment that became him, and was fully reſolv'd to chaſtiſe the Treaſon; but was at preſent deeply engag'd in the *Perſian* War. For *Sapor*, taking an Advantage from the Diſturbance in the Weſt, had miſerably ravag'd *Meſopotamia*, and was ſat down before *Niſibis*, and finding the Beſieged reſolute to defend it, had drew the River off from the Town, thinking by that means they would be conſtrain'd to ſurrender; which when he found ineffectual, for the Defendants digged very deep Wells, and had Fountains within ſufficient to ſupply that want, he turn'd the River againſt the Town, and made a Breach in the Wall, which however was by an extraordinary Induſtry repair'd; deſpairing therefore of Succeſs, and hearing the *Maſſagetes* were making Inroads into his own Country, he return'd home after he had loſt a conſiderable part of his Army.

Veteranio.

Sapor *Beſieges* Niſibis,

and returns with loſs.

A. D. 350. Whereupon *Conſtantius* remov'd the following Year into *Pannonia*, and in his way from *Conſtantinople*

was met by Meſſengers from *Magnentius* with Offers of Accommodation. 'Tis ſaid that whilſt *Conſtantius* was deliberating on the Anſwer he ſhould return, his Father appear'd to him in a Dream the Night following, holding *Conſtans* in his Hand, bidding him revenge the Death of a Prince deſcended from ſo many Emperors, upon a Tyrant and Murderer, and therein vindicate the Imperial Throne from ſo foul an Abuſe: Whereupon committing the Meſſengers to Cuſtody, he went with all Expedition to *Sardica*, a Town in *Dacia*. *Veteranio*, ſurpriz'd at his Diligence, and having before entertain'd an Inclination for his Service, went out to meet the Emperor, and receive him at his Approach; who, glad of the Advantage, and pleas'd that he ſhould not have two Enemies to deal with at once, embrac'd him, call'd him Father, carry'd him with him to *Sirmium*, ſet him at his Table, and conſulted with him how to proſecute the War.

But ſome time after, when both aſcended the Tribunal to harangue the Army, and *Conſtantius*, from the Dignity of his Birth, had the Precedency of Speech given him; he reminded the Soldiers, in a very eloquent Addreſs, how much they were obliged to his Father, whoſe Liberality had been ſo extraordinary towards them, and before whom they had taken ſo many Oaths of Duty and Allegiance to his Sons: That therefore they were bound to revenge upon *Magnentius* his Brother's violent Death, and vindicate the Off-ſpring of their Patron and Benefactor from Treaſon and Aſſaſſination. Upon this the Soldiers, ſenſibly touch'd by ſo pathetical a Repreſentation, diſdaining an Uſurper ſhould ſit on the Throne of *Conſtantine* the Great, pull'd *Veteranio* down from the Tribunal, and depriv'd him of the Imperial Robes, who thereupon threw himſelf at *Conſtantius* his Feet, and obtain'd an eaſie Pardon from

Veteranio *depos'd by the Soldiers.*

from the Emperor; who, in Compaſſion to his extream Age, allow'd him a Revenue ſuitable to his Quality, confining him to *Pruſias*, a City in *Bithynia*, where he ſpent the Reſidue of his Days without ever intermeddling in the Affairs of the Empire. After this, *Conſtantius*, finding the Adminiſtration of Power and Authority in Countries at ſo great a diſtance a Burden too unequal for one Man, and deſpairing now of any Male-Iſſue, marry'd *Gallus*, his Uncle *Conſtantius*'s Son, to his own Siſter *Conſtantina*, and conferr'd on him the Title of *Cæſar*; who in his Abſence was to have an Eye upon the *Perſians*, and take care of the Eaſtern Provinces, while he was intent upon the Uſurpation of *Magnentius*, and ſettling the Affairs of the Empire in the Weſt. But *Magnentius*, apprehenſive of the Emperor's Intentions, choſe rather to meet him abroad, than expect him in thoſe he call'd his own Dominions, and thereupon advanc'd with his Army to *Noricum*, and thence into *Pannonia*, where he took *Sciſcia* by Aſſault, and laid it even with the Ground. After this he waſted the Country lying upon the *Save*, and ſate down before *Sirmium*, but being repuls'd from thence by the couragious Defence of the Inhabitants, he remov'd, and laid cloſe Siege to *Murſa*, which *Conſtantius* was reſolv'd to relieve; of whoſe Approach when *Magnentius* was adviſ'd, he diſpos'd an Ambuſcade of four thouſand *Gauls* in a Wood adjoining, with Orders to fall upon the Enemy's Rear, when they found both Armies engag'd: Of this the Beſieg'd found Means to acquaint the Emperor, who thereupon ſent away two Tribunes with a ſtrong Detachment to ſtop up all the Avenues to the Place, by which Means the whole Party was cut off.

Gallus *created* Cæſar.

A. D. 352. *Magnentius* ſeeing his Stratagem ineffectual, gave *Conſtantius* Battel in the Plains of *Murſa*; and both Armies

Armies fought with that Reſolution, that the Emperor, tho' he gain'd an abſolute and entire Victory, was deeply concern'd to ſee how much the Strength of the Empire was thereby impair'd and broken. *Magnentius* is ſaid to have loſt thirty thouſand Men in this Fight, but for himſelf, when he found his Men begin to give Ground, and fearful of falling into the Emperor's Hands, he turn'd his Horſe looſe, adorn'd as it was with the Imperial Ornaments, that the Enemy might imagine the Rider was ſlain, and fled with a few of his Party into *Italy*, there to recruit his broken Troops, and try the Fortune of another Battel. *Conſtantine*, as ſoon as it was Day (for the Battel continu'd all Night, with ſuch Animoſity did they engage) beheld from an adjoining Eminence the Plain cover'd with dead Bodies, and the River it ſelf, that ran by, choak'd up with them; at which melancholy Sight he could not refrain from Tears, exclaiming againſt *Magnentius*, who had been deaf to all his Meſſages of Peace, tho' he had made him an Offer of *Gaul*, upon condition he would diſarm: He order'd all that were ſlain to be bury'd without diſtinction, and ſuch as were wounded to be attended with Care; after which he retir'd to *Sirmium*, where he reſided the reſt of this Year, and the greateſt part of the next, ordering in the mean time ſome of his Troops to purſue *Magnentius*, who was retiring in the beſt Order he could to *Pavia*, where he defeated *Conſtantius* his Commanders, and remov'd from thence with an intent of getting into *Rome*, but at his Approach he found the Gates ſhut againſt him; upon this he paſſed over into *Gaul*, and by the Aſſiſtance of his two Brothers he rais'd a very conſiderable Army in theſe Provinces, which he knew were firm to his Service, and ſo he was enabled once more to try his Fortune with the Emperor; who hoping by his Preſence to redeem the Loſſes

Magnentius overthrown.

Flies into Italy.

From thence into Gaul.

A. D. 353.

Loſſes he had ſuſtain'd by his Generals, after having publiſh'd an Act of Oblivion, whereby he granted free Pardon to all ſuch as would return to their Duty, excepting thoſe who were guilty of the many Murders committed during the Rebellion, and another touching the Auxiliary and Provincial Troops, went in Perſon into *Gaul*, reſolving vigorouſly to carry on the War againſt *Magnentius*; who made ſo reſolute an Oppoſition, that ſeveral Encounters happen'd between 'em with various Succeſs. At length *Magnentius* being defeated near *Lyons* retreated into the Mountains, where after he had endeavour'd in a ſet Speech to encourage his Men, whoſe Spirits began to ſink under their ill Fortune, they anſwer'd the Concluſion of it, as the Cuſtom was, by an Acclamation; but through an unlucky Miſtake, inſtead of *Magnentius Auguſtus*, ſaluted him by the Name of *Conſtantius Auguſtus*. This unlook'd for Omen ſo exceedingly diſhearten'd him, that he immediately diſpatch'd a Perſon of Senatorian Rank, and after him ſome Biſhops, to treat of a Peace with the Emperor, who would not ſo much as admit 'em to his Preſence, thereby teaching *Magnentius* what he was to expect from him; who perceiving there was no room left for Pardon, recruited his Army in the beſt manner he could, and ſent a Villain to murder *Gallus* at *Antioch*, hoping the Emperor would be thereby oblig'd to go himſelf in Perſon againſt the King of *Perſia*, and withdraw his Army from him. But the Perſon he employ'd unadviſedly diſcover'd the Secret of his Commiſſion before he could put it in Execution, and was thereupon executed as a Traitor. Some time after this happen'd another Engagement, near a Place call'd at this time *Montluel*, in which *Magnentius* was entirely routed, and with much Hazard made his Eſcape into *Lyons*. Where when he obſerv'd that the chief of his Followers, de-

The Emperor marches againſt him.

Magnentius *again defeated.*

ſpairing

ſpairing now of any farther Succeſs, reſolv'd to make their Peace with the Emperor, by throwing him up into his Hands, and for that purpoſe watch'd the Houſe wherein he was lodg'd; he ſent for thoſe Friends and Relations that were near, whom in the Extravagance of Deſpair he ſlew with his own Hands, wounded mortally, as he thought, his Brother *Deſiderius*, and at laſt diſpatch'd himſelf, to prevent falling alive into *Conſtantius*'s Power, and to avoid a lingring Death; after he had reign'd three Years and an half. This was the deſerv'd End of a Tyrant and Uſurper; the firſt Rebel that brought a Scandal upon Chriſtianity, (of which he made an outward Profeſſion) by the Murder of his lawful Sovereign. He was a Man of a prodigious Stature, and moſt outragious Morals; for he made both Law and Religion ſubſervient to his Ambition, and in the Purſuit of his aſpiring Deſigns, trampled under Foot all the Obligations of Nature and Humanity. His Brother *Decentius* heard of his Death, whilſt he was preparing to relieve him; and judging it impoſſible to obtain his Pardon from the Emperor, hang'd himſelf on the 18th of *Auguſt*, at *Senonæ* in *Gaul*: Tho' *Deſiderius* was no ſooner cur'd of his Wounds, but upon a ſubmiſſive Application he met with an eaſie Pardon from *Conſtantius*; who however puniſh'd, with great Severity, the Chief of thoſe who had join'd with *Magnentius* againſt him. Thus the *Roman* Empire, which *Conſtantine* the Great had divided among his Three Sons, became united in the Perſon of *Conſtantius* the Second, in the 17th Year of his Reign, and the 353d after the Birth of our Saviour, he himſelf being in his ſixth, and *Gallus* in his ſecond Conſulate.

Kills himſelf.

III. At *Arles* the Emperor celebrated the *Circenſian* Games, upon the account of this important Victory; the News of which, when it was brought to

Rome, was receiv'd with great Demonſtrations of Joy and Satisfaction by the Senate and People; *Cerealis*, Præfect of the City, erecting a Statue to *Conſtantius*, with an Inſcription declaring him the Reſtorer of the City and the Empire, and the Aboliſher of the late moſt peſtilent Tyranny; whilſt the Emperor in the mean time was buſie at *Lyons*, in ſettling the Peace of thoſe Parts, and reſtoring them to their former Obedience. He firſt publiſh'd a general Pardon, and Act of Oblivion, to all who were not guilty of any Capital Crimes, ſuch as Murder and the like; and then made void all the publick Acts of the Uſurper, in ſeveral of which he had grievouſly oppreſs'd thoſe, who during his Uſurpation had ſtood firm to their Faith and Integrity. And to prevent ſuch Robberies as would otherwiſe enſue upon diſbanding the Army, he by an Edict commanded all thoſe who were to be diſmiſs'd, to apply themſelves either to Tillage or Merchandize; threatning to puniſh the Diſobedient with Death.

The reſt of this Year, and the former part of that which follow'd, he continu'd either at *Lyons* or *Arles*; but towards the Spring he remov'd to *Valentia*, where he waited for the Proviſions of his Army to be ſent thither out of *Aquitain*, and prepar'd for an Expedition againſt *Gundomadus* and *Vadomarius*, two Brothers, and Kings of the *Germans*; who by their frequent Incurſions waſted the Borders of *Gaul*, and the adjoining Provinces. Here he firſt receiv'd the unwelcome News of *Gallus Cæſar*'s extravagant Deportment in the Eaſt, who behav'd himſelf more like a Tyrant and Madman, than a Prince fit to govern the Provinces committed to his Care. His unexpected Advancement, and ſome ſlight Advantages obtain'd over the *Jews* and *Perſians* at his Entrance upon the Government, had inſtill'd into him ſo much Pride and Arrogance, that he broke out

A. D. 354.

The extravagant Behaviour of Gallus,

out into all the Acts of Violence imaginable; which wou'd have ended in the Deſtruction of him that rais'd him, had his Power been equal to his Ambition. And leſt at any time his Paſſions ſhould grow cool, they were kept in a continual Flame, by the reſtleſs and turbulent Spirit of his Wife, that *Megæra* of her Sex, whoſe Thirſt after Blood was as great as that of her Husband. Some were murder'd upon bare Suſpicion, others depriv'd of their Eſtates, and turn'd out a begging, without the Appearance of any Accuſer, or ſo much as a Slave, to put the leaſt colour of Juſtice upon their Proceedings. Mens Lives were bought and ſold, without any other Conſideration, than the Pleaſure or Advantage of thoſe that drove the Bargain. Thus *Clematius*, a Nobleman of *Alexandria*, was murder'd by the Procurement of his Wife's Mother. She burning in Luſt towards him, and not able to obtain her unnatural Deſires, turn'd her Love into Hatred, and reſolv'd to ruin what ſhe could not enjoy. To which Purpoſe ſhe apply'd her ſelf to *Conſtantina*, and preſenting her with a Bracelet of great Value, obtain'd a Warrant to *Honoratus*, *Comes* of the Eaſt, to put him to Death, which was executed accordingly. *and* Conſtantina.

Theſe Proceedings made *Gallus* his Government inſupportable, and occaſion'd vaſt Miſchiefs; which however *Thalaſſius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, might in ſome meaſure have prevented, had he acted prudently; but being himſelf of an haughty, arrogant Temper, he oppos'd him with too much Heat and Licence, ſending the Emperor Information of all his Actions, not privately, but in publick, and with a Deſign *Gallus* ſhould know he had done it; which, inſtead of reclaiming him, made him act with more Fury and Deſperation. Thus were the Eaſtern Provinces oppreſs'd by their own Prince at home, and at the ſame time inſulted by Thalaſſius, *his imprudent Behaviour.*

their Enemies abroad. For the *Iſauri*, a People accuſtom'd to a ravenous pilfering Life, made frequent Inroads into the neighbouring Parts, where they committed all manner of Violence, to revenge, as they pretended, an injurious Affront offer'd their Nation at *Iconium*, a Town in *Piſidia*, where ſome of their Country-men were expos'd to wild Beaſts upon the Theatre, contrary to the Precepts of Chriſtianity, and the Cuſtom of Chriſtians. After they had rifled all the Merchant Ships they could find riding on the Coaſt, and from thence proceeded into the Inland Countries, ſtealing and killing whatever came in their way, they ſate down before *Seleucia*, and laid cloſe Siege to it. Of this frequent Complaints being made to *Gallus*, he ſent *Nebridius* to relieve the Place, who, haſten'd with what Forces he could draw together to raiſe the Siege; of whoſe Approach, when the Rovers were advertis'd, they ſav'd him the Labour, for they retir'd into the neighbouring Mountains with Precipitation, and diſpers'd themſelves.

Nor had the King of *Perſia* any better Succeſs at this time in his Attempts upon the Empire; he had order'd *Nohodares*, his General, to fall upon *Meſopotamia*, who found the Coaſts too well ſecur'd by ſtrong Forts and Garriſons to attempt any thing upon them, and therefore directed his whole Deſign againſt *Batne*, a Town famous for a Mart held there every Year about the beginning of *September*, whither the choiceſt *Indian* Commodities were at that time Imported from other Parts for Sale; this Town he hop'd to ſurprize by means of a Wilderneſs that was near it, but his Intention were diſcover'd, and he forc'd to retreat with Loſs and Diſgrace. The *Saracens* in the mean time were more ſucceſsful in their Irruptions, roving up and down, and deſtroying all they met; and then on

ſudde

ſudden retiring, without giving the Enemy time to think upon a Recovery, or Revenge.

During theſe Tranſactions *Gallus* ſo far proceeded in his Outrages at *Antioch*, that he grew a Burden and Plague to all good Men, exerciſing his Cruelties upon all alike, without regard to Quality, Sex or Age. He had Murder'd the Principal among the Senators, had not *Honoratus*, *Comes* of the Eaſt, oppos'd it with an inflexible Reſolution; and he was ſo highly delighted with the bloody Shows, which he exhibited daily upon the Theatre, that he had no Regard to the Publick Edicts of the Empire, by which they were expreſly forbidden. Of all theſe his Outrages *Conſtantius* was inform'd by *Thalaſſius* and others, and therefore reſolv'd to deprive him of his Dignity, but endeavour'd firſt by fair Means and ſober Remonſtrances to recal him to his Duty, and commanded *Domitian* the Præfect, upon his Arrival in *Syria*, to try by all gentle Applications to reclaim him. But he, inſtead of following the Emperor's Inſtructions, behav'd himſelf with too much Arrogance and Indiſcretion, and provok'd *Cæſar* to that degree, who did not uſually meet with ſuch rough Uſage, that he procur'd him and *Montius* the Quæſtor in a cruel manner to be Murder'd, as he did likewiſe *Epigonius*, *Euſebius*, *Apollinaris* the Father, and the Son, and ſeveral others.

Thus groan'd the Eaſtern Provinces under the Tyrannical Government of *Gallus*, of which tho' *Conſtantius* was but too ſenſible, he was not yet at leiſure to repreſs him; for whilſt he reſided at *Valentia*, the better to proſecute his *German* Expedition, his Army, which lay then at *Cabillon*, was ready to Mutiny for want of Proviſion, which had like to have prov'd fatal to *Ruffinus*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of theſe Parts; for he being Uncle to *Gallus* by the Mother's

The Army like to Mutiny in the Weſt for want of Proviſions.

Mother's ſide, was for his ſake grown obnoxious to the Soldiers before, and was now requir'd to give them an Account how their Neceſſaries came to be detain'd ſo long from them; and if the forwardeſt among them, and thoſe who were capable of doing the moſt Miſchief, had not been appeas'd by ſome Preſents of Gold ſent for that Purpoſe to *Cabillon*, by thoſe who were chiefly concern'd, the Severity of their Inquiſition had undoubtedly extended to his Life; but their Fierceneſs and Animoſity being by this means quieted, and Proviſions arriving in abundance not long after, the Præfect ſav'd his Life, and the Army was in a readineſs to march. They met with a vigorous Reſiſtance at *Rauracum*, on the Bank of the *Rhine*, where when the Emperor had order'd a Bridge to be laid over, the Enemy from the other Side ply'd the Workmen ſo warmly with their Darts and Arrows, that it was impoſſible for them to appear upon the Water; this reduc'd the Emperor to great Straits, for he knew not what Courſe to take, 'till one unexpectedly offer'd himſelf for a Guide, and undertook, for a good Reward, to conduct 'em over at a Place where it was fordable; which, in the Obſcurity of the Night, he had certainly effected, had not the Deſign been diſcover'd by ſome of their own Country-men, who had principal Poſts of Command in the Army. Notwithſtanding which, the *Germans* ſome time after, doubtful of the Succeſs of their Arms, if they perſiſted to the extremity, ſent ſeveral among the chief of their Nobility to ſue for Pardon and a Peace; to which the Emperor, by the Advice of his Council, and Approbation of his Army, readily conſented, and ſo was now at leiſure to conſult what effectual Methods were to be taken to ſuppreſs and ruin his Couſin: The better to accompliſh which he writ ſeveral obliging Letters to *Con-*

ſtantina,

ſtantina, expreſſing a mighty Deſire to ſee her, and invited her by all the tender Inſinuations imaginable to come to Court, thinking that the readieſt way to draw *Gallus* thither after her. She was too ſenſible of what ſhe had done not to apprehend the worſt from the Emperor; however ſhe hop'd by her artful Inſinuations, and the Privilege of a Siſter, to diſarm his Rage, and without any farther Deliberation ſet out to attend him, but was overtaken by a Feaver, which put an end to her Journey, and her Life, at *Cani Galliciani* in *Bithynia*. This threw *Gallus* into a great Perplexity, for he had now loſt his only Advocate with the Emperor, whom he had too much provok'd, and who he knew was too inclinable to deſtroy his Kindred, to liſten to any Plea he could make, and was ready to lay hold on any Opportunity to deſtroy him. So that had he met with any Encouragement, or could have truſted thoſe about him, who now began to deſert him in diſtruſt of his inconſtant Temper, and apprehenſion of *Conſtantius* his Power, he had certainly aſſum'd the Title of Emperor; but growing every Day more perplex'd in Mind, and being by ſeveral repeated Meſſages importun'd from the Emperor to come with all ſpeed into his Preſence, but above all perſuaded to it by *Scudilo* the Tribune, a crafty inſinuating Man, who gave him all imaginable Aſſurances on the Emperor's part; he left *Antioch*, and ſet out for *Conſtantinople*, where like a Man in the midſt of Security he exhibited Publick Shows to the People, and through his confident Behaviour made *Conſtantius* more ſollicitous to provide for his Deſtruction; he therefore remov'd all the Garriſons out of the Towns through which he was to paſs, leſt his Deſperation might make him work any thing upon the Soldiers, and kept ſuch a ſtrict Watch upon him, that when he arriv'd at *Adrianople*,

Conſtantius *reſolves to get rid of* Gallus.

Conſtantina *dies.*

ple, and the *Thebean* Legions quarter'd in thoſe Parts offer'd him their utmoſt Aſſiſtance, the Meſſengers were ſo narrowly obſerv'd, that they could by no means gain an Opportunity of ſpeaking with him.

Here he receiv'd freſh Letters requiring him to haſten away, and ten publick Carriages were provided for the Conveniency of his Equipage, but all the Officers of his Court were left behind, except ſome few that attended in his Chamber, and waited on him at his Table. In this melancholy Condition he was hurried away to *Petow*, or *Petovio* in *Noricum*, curſing his own Eaſineſs that had thus betray'd him into the Hands of his Enemies, and ſtung with Remorſe for his many Murders and cauſeleſs Cruelties; in this Agony of his Conſcience, that he might no longer doubt of the Deſigns laid againſt him, *Barbatio* and *Apodemius* appear'd attended by a Company of Soldiers, whom *Gallus* knew the Emperor had oblig'd ſo well that they would decline executing nothing he would command; and *Barbatio* the next Day enter'd his Chamber before it was hardly Light, depriv'd him of the Imperial Robe, and cloath'd him in a common Habit, aſſuring him in the mean time by repeated Oaths, that nothing worſe than what he had already ſeen and felt was intended by the Emperor againſt him; but ordering him to riſe with all ſpeed he immediately clapp'd him into a cloſe Litter, and convey'd him to a Place near *Pola* in *Iſtria*, whither *Conſtantius* had ſent Commiſſioners to examine him about thoſe he had put to Death at *Antioch*. He, with Looks full of Fear and Confuſion, endeavour'd the beſt he could to clear himſelf, alledging that what had been done proceeded chiefly from the Inſtigation of his Wife *Conſtantina*. *Conſtantius* grew the more enrag'd at this Anſwer, which reflected

in

n ſo high a meaſure upon his Siſter, and conſe-
quently upon himſelf; for which Reaſon, placing
his whole Security in the Deſtruction of *Gallus*, he
reſolv'd to put an end to his own Fears, and the
ther's Life together, and accordingly ſign'd the Or-
lers for his Death, which was executed upon him as
f he had been a common Thief. Thus fell *Gallus*
Cæſar in the 29th Year of his Age, and the beginning
f the fourth after his Promotion; he was the Son
f *Conſtantius*, Brother to *Conſtantine* the Great, and
f *Galla*, Siſter of *Ruffinus* and *Cerealis*; his Death
as chiefly owing to his own Tyrannical Deport-
ent, but in a great meaſure to the Procurement of
uſebius the Eunuch, his inveterate Enemy, and to
cudilo and *Barbatio*, who accus'd him of more
rimes than he really was guilty of, for which Vil-
ny they met with a juſt Reward, as we ſhall ſee
ereafter. He was a comely well-proportion'd Man,
f yellow Hair, and a thin Beard, but ſo deprav'd
his Morals, that *Ammianus* will have him as much
eneath his Brother *Julian* in every thing that was
ood and Virtuous, as *Domitian* came ſhort of *Ti-*
us. *Gallus* was kill'd in the 1106th Year of the Ci-
, the 354th from our Saviour's Nativity, the ſe-
ond of the 283d *Olympiad*, *Conſtantius* the ſeventh,
nd *Gallus Cæſar* the third time Conſuls.

Gallus *put to Death.*

IV. The Emperor lay at *Milan* when he receiv'd
he News of *Cæſar*'s Death, and what with the
te Treaſons of *Magnentius*, and *Gallus* his inſo-
nt Behaviour, he was grown ſo jealous and di-
ruſtful, that his Ears were open to all the Ac-
uſations, by which his Eunuchs and other inſi-
uating Courtiers procur'd the Ruin of many brave
en. He had by his Severity, and the Death of
veral Perſons, render'd his Victory, obtain'd over
agnentius, leſs acceptable to the People, who
found

Conſtantius *grows Jealous and Cruel.*

found the Act of Indemnity of no Advantage t whomſoever the Emperor had the leaſt Reaſon t miſtruſt. Some upon little more than the bare Sha dow of Guilt were firſt fetter'd like Wild Beaſt and then were put to Death, depriv'd of their E ſtates, or baniſh'd, and that without the Appearanc of any Accuſer againſt them. Theſe Proceeding caſt a great Blot upon the Reign of *Conſtantius* eſpecially in the Opinion of our Writers; for th Effects of his Jealouſie extended as far as this I

Paul, Spaniſh *Notary, ſent into* Britain.

a ſland, whither one *Paul*, a Notary, born in *Spain* was ſent to reduce ſuch of the Army as had re volted to *Magnentius*. They that were guilty pur chas'd their Safety with their Mony, by which way of Traffick, having once taſted the Sweetneſ

His Behaviour there.

of Riches, like a ravenous Wolf, he ran headlong into all villanous Practices, making the moſt inno cent guilty, if they had but Eſtates, in which he intended to have a Share. One *Martin* was a this time Vicar of theſe Provinces, who being much offended at *Paul*'s Oppreſſions, endeavour'd at firſt by his Intercеſſions to ſtop the Career of his Vil lany, but finding that ineffectual, he was then forc'd more openly to oppoſe him; and the Conteſt grew ſo high between them, that he reſolv'd at length to quit this Place, rather than be a Witneſs of the daily Outrages that were committed. *Paul*, forc ſeeing this would put an end to his Trade, reſolv'd to put him down among thoſe that were to be ac cus'd, and us'd all his Intereſt at Court, that he might be ſent for with the reſt; of which when *Martin* was inform'd he attempted to kill the Vil lain, but failing therein he turn'd his Sword againſt himſelf, and by that means eaſed *Paul* of his Ap prehenſions, who purſu'd his Purpoſe, and carry'd his Priſoners up in Chains to Court, where ſome ſuffer'd a long uncomfortable Impriſonment, other were

were put to Torture; ſome were proſcrib'd and baniſh'd, and others put to Death. This was the uſe the Emperor made of his Succeſs againſt *Magnentius*, for after he found himſelf free from *Gallus*, he grew exceedingly elevated, and gave himſelf up to the Hyperbolical Encomiums of his Ambitious Flatterers, by whom he was ſo far poiſon'd as to arrogate to himſelf the Title of *Lord of the whole World*; yet whilſt he aſpir'd to tranſcend the Dignity of the greateſt, he outwardly pretended to equal the Morality of the very beſt of Princes. But ſtill his Ears continu'd ſo open to whatever Accuſations were offer'd to him, that Multitudes of People were brought out of the Eaſt in Chains to *Aquileia*, where one *Arbora* and *Euſebius* ſate upon 'em as Judges, and without making any Diſtinction between the Guilty and Innocent paſs'd Judgment equally upon all, ſentencing ſome to the Rack, and after that to Baniſhment; others to Servile Offices in the Army, and the reſt to Death itſelf; for 'tis obſervable throughout this Emperor's Reign, that few or none eſcaped Condemnation in one of theſe kinds upon the ſmalleſt Preſumption of their Guilt. Theſe venerable Judges having diſpatch'd the Buſineſs for which they were ſent, return'd back in Triumph to *Conſtantius*, who whilſt he was employ'd in making Laws at *Milan*, relating to the Corporations and ſeveral Officers of State, and in too ſtrict an Inquiſition after Offenders, receiv'd Advice that the *Lentienſes*, a People dwelling upon the Borders of *Germany*, made frequent Incurſions into the *Roman* Territories, upon which War was declar'd againſt them. The Emperor ſet out in Perſon againſt them, and having march'd his Army into *Rhatia*, he there call'd a Council of War, wherein it was reſolv'd that *Arbetio*, Maſter of the Horſe, ſhould be ſent before with

Conſtantius *his Vanity.*

with a ſelect Body, and fall upon 'em on a ſudden near the Lake of *Conſtance*. *Arbetio* follow'd his Orders, but the Enemy, being inform'd of his coming, ſet upon him at ſo great an Advantage, that his Men were routed, and by the Favour of the Night moſt of 'em eſcap'd back to the Camp. The *Germans* were ſo elevated with this Succeſs that they renew'd their Excurſions, and before it was Light ſallied out almoſt as far as the *Roman* Camp; but were ſo warmly receiv'd, firſt by the *Scutarii* provok'd by their Inſolence, and by degrees by the reſt of the Army, that the greateſt part of them were deſtroy'd, the reſt flying as faſt as they could from the Purſuers, leaving the Fields cover'd with the Slain. After the Emperor had obtain'd this ſignal Victory he return'd in Triumph to *Milan*, and there took up his Winter-Quarters.

There he had not long ſtaid before his groundleſs Jealouſies expos'd him to new Troubles, which were like to have ended in his Ruin. *Sylvanus* at that time commanded in *Gaul*, whither he was ſent by the Procurement and Authority of *Arbetio*, who
A. D. was Conſul this Year together with *Lollianus*. *Syl-*
355. *vanus* ow'd this Advancement to the jealous Artifices of Rival Courtiers, who are apt to ſend thoſe who are able to diſpute their Maſter's Favour with them, far from his Preſence upon ſome dangerous Employment. *Gaul* had of late been very much diſtreſs'd by the Inroads of the Barbarous Nations their Neighbours, who laid all waſte before them with Fire and Sword. *Arbetio* thought this the moſt convenient Expedition to remove *Sylvanus*, if not out of the World, at leaſt out of the Emperor's Sight, who as yet highly eſteem'd him for his Merit. He was a brave experienc'd Commander, and proceeded with that Conduct againſt the Enemy, that by his Means *Gaul* was deliver'd from their Incurſions. In the

the mean time *Dynamius*, a chief Commander in the Army, forg'd a Letter, directed from *Sylvanus* to his Friends at Court, exhorting them to aſſiſt him in his Deſign, which was no leſs than the Uſurpation of the Empire. This Letter was produc'd, and *Dynamius* appointed to enquire into the Matter; who immediately apprehended all thoſe nam'd in the Paper who were near at hand, and ſent to ſecure the reſt, who were abroad in the ſeveral Colonies. The Matter made ſo great a Noiſe, and was of ſuch high Conſequence, that *Sylvanus* could not but know the dangerous Condition of his Affairs: And tho', upon a ſtricter Enquiry, *Florentius*, great Maſter of the Houſhold, diſcover'd the whole Intrigue, yet *Sylvanus*, who was well acquainted with the Emperor's credulous Temper, and knew how induſtrious *Arbetio* was to deſtroy him, concluded he ſhould be condemn'd abſent and unheard, and therefore at firſt reſolv'd to throw himſelf into the Arms of the Barbarians; but being diſſuaded from that by his Friends, he at length aſſum'd the Imperial Habit; encourag'd to it by his Principal Officers, and forc'd upon it for his own Preſervation. The News of this Uſurpation was brought to the Emperor at *Milan*, who in great Aſtoniſhment ſummon'd his Council in the dead of Night, to conſult with them what was to be done upon ſo great an Emergency. Every one teſtify'd his Senſe of the Danger, in the Diſtractions of his Countenance; they found it eaſier to raiſe a Storm than to lay it; nor knew they whom they could chuſe, able to oppoſe the Torrent they ſaw rolling down upon 'em. At length they pitch'd upon *Urſicinus*, an old Soldier, perfectly acquainted in Military Affairs, having ſerv'd under and with *Conſtantine* the Great in all his Wars. He had of late been in Diſgrace, but was now ſent for, and receiv'd with all the Honour

Sylvanus ſets up for Emperor.

Againſt whom Urſicinus is ſent.

 they

they thought due to a Deliverer. In employing him the Courtiers propos'd to themſelves a double Advantage; for if he miſcarry'd in the Attempt, then ſhould they be deliver'd from one, whoſe Anger they fear'd would, ſome time or other, break out in a juſt Revenge upon 'em, for the Injuries he had receiv'd; but if he prevail'd upon *Sylvanus*, then they ſhould be deliver'd from the Danger which at preſent hung over their Heads.

It was reſolv'd in Council, that *Conſtantius*, as if he knew nothing of *Sylvanus* his aſſuming the Imperial Title, ſhould ſend him a Letter by *Urſicinus*, enjoining him to accept of him for his Succeſſor, and return, and enjoy thoſe Places he held before at Court. Hereupon *Urſicinus* receiv'd his Diſpatches, and taking with him ten Aſſiſtants, among whom was *Ammianus Marcellinus* the Hiſtorian, he made all the Haſte he could, the better to conceal his Expedition from *Sylvanus*; but notwithſtanding all his Diligence, the News of it was got before him to *Cologn*, where at his Arrival he found a great Body of Forces drawn together in Defence of *Sylvanus*. Upon this *Urſicinus* took other Meaſures, and endeavour'd to maſter his Deſigns by an outward ſhow of Submiſſion and Obedience. This procur'd him a kind Reception from *Sylvanus*, who admitted him to kiſs the Purple, as the Cuſtom was of ſaluting Emperors, and freely open'd all his Thoughts to him, conſulting with him what was to be done for their mutual Security; and complaining with great Indignation, how vile, unworthy Perſons were preferr'd to the Conſulate, from which they had been hitherto moſt unjuſtly excluded, and treated with all Inhumanity, the one being ſtain'd with falſe Accuſations of Treaſon, and the other hurry'd out of the Eaſt, and expos'd to the ſubtle Practices of his Enemies. This Security in *Sylvanus* was of great Ad-

dvantage to *Urſicinus*, and his Aſſociates; for by egrees they wrought ſo effectually with ſome of the Guards, that early one Morning they ſet upon thoſe ho had the Charge of the Palace, and having kill'd m, dragg'd *Sylvanus* out of a Chappel, whither he had fled, and cut him in pieces. Thus fell a brave deerving Captain, whom the crafty Malice of his Enemies, join'd with the Emperor's Credulity, had forc'd n his own Defence to uſurp the Imperial Title: For ho' there was ſcarce a Man in the Empire deſerv'd more of *Conſtantius* than himſelf, both for his Father's ervices and his own, yet he knew all would be too ittle to oppoſe the natural Jealouſie and Credulity f that Prince. *Ammianus* reports, that before he was ain in *Gaul*, the People at *Rome* cry'd out in the *Circus Maximus*, without any known Motive, or certain Grounds, that *Sylvanus* was overthrown. Sylvanus *murder'd.*

V. *Conſtantius* expreſs'd an extraordinary Joy at his happy Deliverance, but made a very ill uſe of , for he grew more Inſolent and Proud from his ecurity; and, like *Domitian*, who quarrell'd with all hat were better than himſelf, inſtead of rewarding *Urſicinus* for his extraordinary Service, he call'd him o a ſtrict Account for ſome Mony which he falſly retended he had intercepted in *Gaul*; and proceeded with ſuch Rage againſt *Sylvanus* his Friends, that ho' *Proculus*, a lean infirm Man, endur'd the Rack with a wonderful Conſtancy, without accuſing or mentioning the Name of any one Perſon whatſoever, affirming on the contrary, that what *Sylvanus* did was purely out of Neceſſity, not Ambition; inſtancing, that when he paid the Army, five Days before he aſſum'd the Imperial Title, he then us'd the Name nd Authority of *Conſtantius*, exhorting them all to e conſtant in their Loyalty to him; which he would ot have done, had he deſign'd to ſet up for himſelf, but

but have perverted the Treaſure to his own Advantage: And tho' many more were ready to atte this as real matter of Fact, yet was *Proculus* and ſeveral others condemn'd and executed.

Theſe his cruel Proceedings againſt his own Subjects at home, were in ſome meaſure reveng'd upo him by his Enemies abroad; for the Barbarous Nations, in Contempt of the Peace lately ſign'd, brok in upon *Gaul*, and laid waſte all before 'em. Thi exceedingly perplex'd the Emperor, who continu ſtill at *Milan*, and was at that time unwilling to ſti out of *Italy* himſelf, and therefore he was of Neceſſity to repreſs the Barbarians by ſome other Hand Upon this he thought of promoting *Julian*, the Brother of *Gallus*, to the Dignity of *Cæſar*, tho' he wa therein oppos'd by his Sycophants that were abou him; who, when he proteſted that he was unable t ſuſtain the great Burden of the Empire alone, affirm nothing was ſo difficult but muſt of neceſſity give wa to his extraordinary Courage and Conduct: An had certainly diverted him from his Deſign, had no the Empreſs interpos'd; who, whether averſe to lon and dangerous Expeditions, or obſerving new Trou bles ariſing in *Pannonia*, and that the King of *Perſ* was preparing to make good his Claim upon *Armeni* and *Meſopotamia*, concluded it impoſſible for the Emperor to oppoſe ſo many Enemies at once, prevail' with *Conſtantius* to purſue his Intentions.

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as inclinable, with their Approbation, to dignifie his ouſin Julian *with the Title and Authority of* Cæ*ar, who was a young Man of approv'd Modeſty and extraordinary good Hopes.* As he was proceeding he Army interrupted him, telling him *it was the Will of God, and it ſhould be ſo:* Upon which *Ju-* Julian *created* Cæſar, *lian* was cloath'd in the Purple Robe, and declared *Cæſar.* Then the Emperor, with a grave and ſet-ed Countenance, ſaluted him with the Title of *Moſt Loving Brother*; telling him, *it added much his Glory, that he could thus confer a Dignity, a manner Hereditary, to ſo near and dear a Re-tion; that he look'd on him now as his Aſſociate the Empire, bound to ſhare with him the Cares d Labours that attended it; that he committed aul to his Protection, and plac'd him at the Head a ſtout courageous Army; that being a Valiant an himſelf, he made no doubt but he would ap-ar ſuch upon Occaſion at the Head of his Troops, animate his Soldiers by his own Courage, and a Witneſs of theirs; that he might promiſe him-f from him all the Love and Aſſiſtance he could pect*; concluding, *that he made no doubt but by d's Aſſiſtance they ſhould govern the* Roman *World th equal Piety, Prudence and Moderation.* Thus *lian* was created *Cæſar* at *Milan*, on the ſixth *November*, in the Conſulſhip of *Arbetio* and *llianus.*

In a few Days after *Julian* was marry'd to *Hele-* *and marry'd to* Helena, *the Emperor's Siſter.* the Emperor's Siſter; and having prepar'd all ings requiſite for his Journey, he ſet out for *Gaul* th a ſmall Train on the firſt of *November*, the mperor himſelf attending him part of his way. At *urinum* (or *Trent*) he was firſt inform'd of the uin of *Cologne*, a famous City in the ſecond *Ger-ny*; which the Barbarians had taken and levell'd th the Ground. This ſeem'd an ill Omen to his

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Julian had been lately ſent for out of *Achaia*, and had hitherto devoted himſelf wholly to Study: But now the Emperor, having call'd the Army together at *Milan*, mounted a Tribunal made for that purpoſe more conſpicuous than ordinary, and plac'd *Julian* on his Right Hand; then he addreſs'd himſelf to the Soldiers, telling 'em *under what Neceſſities the Empire lay at preſent, and how much he ſtood in need of an Aſſiſtant; that therefore he*

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was inclinable, with their Approbation, to dignifie his Couſin Julian *with the Title and Authority of* Cæſar, *who was a young Man of approv'd Modeſty and extraordinary good Hopes.* As he was proceeding the Army interrupted him, telling him *it was the Will of God, and it ſhould be ſo:* Upon which *Julian* was cloath'd in the Purple Robe, and declared *Cæſar.* Then the Emperor, with a grave and ſetled Countenance, ſaluted him with the Title of *Moſt Loving Brother*; telling him, *it added much to his Glory, that he could thus confer a Dignity, in a manner Hereditary, to ſo near and dear a Relation; that he look'd on him now as his Aſſociate in the Empire, bound to ſhare with him the Cares and Labours that attended it; that he committed* Gaul *to his Protection, and plac'd him at the Head of a ſtout courageous Army; that being a Valiant Man himſelf, he made no doubt but he would appear ſuch upon Occaſion at the Head of his Troops, and animate his Soldiers by his own Courage, and be a Witneſs of theirs; that he might promiſe himſelf from him all the Love and Aſſiſtance he could expect*; concluding, *that he made no doubt but by God's Aſſiſtance they ſhould govern the* Roman *World with equal Piety, Prudence and Moderation.* Thus *Julian* was created *Cæſar* at *Milan*, on the ſixth of *November*, in the Conſulſhip of *Arbetio* and *Lollianus.* Julian *created* Cæſar,

In a few Days after *Julian* was marry'd to *Helena*, the Emperor's Siſter; and having prepar'd all things requiſite for his Journey, he ſet out for *Gaul* with a ſmall Train on the firſt of *November*, the Emperor himſelf attending him part of his way. At *Taurinum* (or *Trent*) he was firſt inform'd of the Ruin of *Cologne*, a famous City in the ſecond *Germany*; which the Barbarians had taken and levell'd with the Ground. This ſeem'd an ill Omen to his *and marry'd to* Helena, *the Emperor's Siſter.*

firſt Undertaking, and made him ſay, *That all the Advantage he was like to receive from his Promotion, was to periſh with more Vexation, and to make a greater Noiſe at his Fall.* At *Vienna* he was receiv'd with the general Applauſe of the People, who welcom'd him with all Expreſſions of Joy, and embrac'd him as their Deliverer. And when a blind old Woman, who ask'd what Prince was then making his Entrance, was anſwer'd it was *Julian*, ſhe reply'd, *Then this is he who is to reſtore the Temples of the Gods.* Here he enter'd into his firſt Conſulate, the Emperor, now eight times Conſul, being his Partner: And before the Winter was well advanc'd he receiv'd Intelligence that *Auguſtodunum* (now *Autun*) a large City of great Antiquity, was beſieg'd by the Barbarians, which he prepar'd with all ſpeed to relieve; but upon his Approach he found the Enemy had rais'd the Siege, and were retir'd. Whom with the light Part of his Army he purſu'd with ſuch Diligence, that he overtook 'em near *Tricaſſin*, in Higher *Dauphine*, where they engag'd him in great Multitudes, and ſome of 'em he took, more he kill'd, and the reſt he put to Flight. After this Action he remov'd to *Rheims*, where the main Body of his Army waited in a Readineſs for him, under the Command of *Marcellus* and *Urſicinus*. From hence after he had held a Council of War, he march'd against the Enemy; who, taking the Advantage of a dark wet Night, and their Ignorance of the Way, fell upon his Rear, and had cut off two of his Legions, had not the reſt of his Army, alarm'd by the ſudden Noiſe, turn'd back to their Reſcue. This made him more cautious in his Marches, and attempt ſome of the Cities upon the Borders, where when he had maſter'd 'em he might lye ſecurely, and make Excurſions from thence at his Pleaſure. In order to which he advanc'd towards *Brotomagnum*

A. D. 356.

His Exploits in Gaul.

or *Worms*, which after a ſucceſsful Fight againſt the *Germans*, who endeavour'd to hinder his Deſigns, he took, as he did ſeveral others that prov'd of great Service to him in the Courſe of the War. From *Worms* he remov'd to *Cologne*, which he caus'd to be re-built; and ſtay'd here long enough to conclude a Peace with the Kings of the *Franks*, who grew weary of the War, and delivered him up one of their ſtrong Towns. After this he went to *Triers*, and from thence to *Senonæ*, where he took up his Winter-Quarters. Whilſt he lay here, the Enemy, being inform'd that a conſiderable Part of the Army were abſent, or diſpers'd through the Country for conveniency of their Quarters, came on a ſudden and laid Siege to the Town. He with his Officers kept watch Day and Night upon the Walls, and tho' his Numbers were too weak to make a Sally, he defended the Place ſo long 'till the Enemy deſpairing to take the Town rais'd the Siege, and drew off. All this while *Marcellus* lay near at hand, and yet he never ſtirr'd to relieve *Cæſar*, or preſerve the Place, which he ought to have done, tho' *Julian* had not been in it. For his Omiſſion the Emperor, as ſoon as he was inform'd of it, turn'd him out of his Commiſſion, and confin'd him to his Houſe. This Proceeding made *Marcellus* imagine himſelf highly injur'd by *Cæſar*, on whom he was reſolv'd to be reveng'd, by inſtilling into the Emperor's Ears ſuch things as might raiſe his Jealouſie, and end in *Julian*'s Ruin. *Julian* knowing well the Malice of the one, and the ſupine Credulity of the other, ſent *Eutherius* to anſwer ſuch things as ſhould be objected againſt him; which he did ſo effectually, that *Marcellus* his Accuſation fell to the Ground. Thus ended the War this Year in *Gaul*, doubtful in the Beginning, but in the Concluſion proſperous.

He is beſieg'd in Senonæ:

And raiſes the Siege.

Being accuſed by Marcellus *he clears himſelf.*

A. D. 357. The Year following, being the 21ſt of *Conſtantius* his Reign, he and *Julian* continu'd Conſuls, the Emperor reſiding ſtill at *Milan*; where he publiſh'd an Edict, reſtraining the Arbitrary Proceedings of the Provincial Officers in the Impoſition and Levying of Taxes; allowing thoſe call'd Extraordinary never to be impos'd but by the *Præfectus Prætorio* himſelf, and that only when there was an abſolute unavoidable Neceſſity for it, enjoining him to acquaint the Emperor that he had impos'd ſuch a Tax; that what was done might be confirm'd by the Imperial Authority, or receive ſuch Alterations as were judg'd convenient, before it was collected.

Conſtantius *takes a Progreſs to* Rome.

VI. After this the Emperor, finding he had little to do, reſolv'd to viſit *Rome*, where the Senate and all the People came forth to meet him, and ſo great was the Confluence, that he thought the whole World was there aſſembled together. He made his Entry in a Golden Chariot, which was adorn'd with ſuch a multitude of ſparkling Gems, that it rivall'd the Luſtre of the Sun. The Dragons embroider'd upon Purple wanton'd in the Air about him, curling their Heads from the Ends of the Staves that gliſter'd with Pearl and precious Stones, and when they wav'd to and fro in the Winds, they ſeem'd alive by their Hiſſings, and Tortuoſity of their Tails. When he came to the *Roſtra*, he was amaz'd at the ſight of the *Forum*, that Demonſtration of the ancient Power of the Inhabitants, and ſpake to the Nobility in the Senate Houſe, and made a Speech to the People from the Tribunal. He was wonderfully delighted with the Place, but what he moſt admired was the Temple of *Jupiter Tarpeius*, the publick Baths, the Amphitheatre, the *Pantheon*, *Pompey's* Theatre, and other magnificent Ornaments of this *Eternal City*, as *Ammianus* calls it, and as it is ſtiled by

by the Emperors in moſt of their Edicts: In a Word, he was ſo amaz'd with what he beheld, that he complain'd of Fame, which either through Weakneſs or Malice had given a lame imperfect Account of what related to *Rome*, tho' in other Matters ſhe conſtantly exceeds the Truth; and deſiring to add ſomething of his own to the Ornaments of the City, he intended to erect an *Obeliſk* in the *Circus Maximus*, which was done accordingly towards the latter end of the Year.

The Empreſs *Euſebia* had, in this Progreſs to *Rome*, brought under the ſhow of Friendſhip *Helena* *Julian*'s Wife along with her; and as ſhe had formerly brib'd the Midwife to deſtroy a Boy, of which ſhe was juſt deliver'd in *Gaul*, by cutting off too much of the Naval String, ſo now ſhe practis'd with ſo much skill upon her, that ſhe prevail'd with her to take ſomething which made her Miſcarry; for being barren her ſelf, ſhe could not endure ſhe ſhould be a Mother; and ſo careful were they, ſaith the Hiſtorian, to deprive that Valiant Man of Iſſue; who notwithſtanding the many Inconveniences he labour'd under in *Gaul*, had in many reſpects been very ſucceſsful againſt the Enemy. *Barbatio*, General of the Foot, was ſent out of *Italy* with a Supply of 25000 Men, and *Julian* had drawn out his Troops Garriſon'd about *Senonæ*, in Order to join him, or fall in ſeparate Bodies upon the Enemy, and try if it were poſſible to reſtrain 'em with double Forces, and confine 'em within their Bounds, for they had now paſs'd the *Rhine*, and were advancing up into the Country. *Julian*'s Deſign was to encloſe 'em, if he could, between his own Army and that commanded by *Barbatio*, in which he ſucceeded according to his Deſire; for the *Germans*, notwithſtanding this additional Strength, paſſing between the two Camps, in their roving

Julian's farther Progreſs in Gaul.

manner proceeded as far as *Lyons*, with an Intent to ſurprize it; but they were ſo warmly receiv'd by the Inhabitants, that judging it impoſſible to take the City, they waſted the Country round about, and were returning with a great Booty; when *Julian*, who had notice of what was done, detach'd three ſtrong Parties of Horſe to three ſeveral Places, by which he concluded the Barbarians muſt return, who accordingly were all cut off, except ſuch as eſcap'd where *Barbatio*'s Poſt was aſſign'd him; for *Barbatio*, as well in this as every thing elſe, labour'd all he cou'd to oppoſe and ruin *Caſar*, and 'tis thought the Inſtructions he receiv'd from the Emperor were to that purpoſe, who was ſaid to have ſent *Julian* not ſo much to relieve the Province of *Gaul*, as to expoſe him to ſuch imminent Danger, under which he muſt of neceſſity miſcarry; ſo that when he demanded ſeven Boats of *Barbatio* to make Bridges over into ſome Iſlands upon the *Rhine*, where ſeveral of the Barbarians had ſecur'd themſelves, he having notice of his Deſign burnt them all, as he did ſuch Corn as had been of courſe provided, which came his way; for having taken half to himſelf, he conſtantly burnt the reſt; and after he had receiv'd a notable Defeat from the Enemy near *Baſle*, who took the greateſt part of his Baggage, and purſued him as far as the *Rauraci*, he, as if the Summer's Expedition was over, ſent his Men into Winter-Quarters, and return'd to Court, where he perſuaded the Emperor that his Army had been Victorious, and did all the ill Offices he could to *Caſar*; who, notwithſtanding, purſu'd his Deſign with Vigour, and having coaſted along the *Rhine* came to the *Three Tabernæ*, now *Zaberne*, a Fort lately demoliſh'd by the Enemy, which he thought fit to rebuild, the better to curb 'em, and hinder their Irrupptions into *Gaul*. This Work he finiſh'd

ſoone

ſooner than was expected, and ſtor'd it with Proviſions for a whole Year, which he got with much difficulty out of the Enemy's Country. But whilſt he was buſily employ'd in this Work, the Barbarians, animated with their Succeſs, and concluding that *Ceſar* himſelf was run away through Fear, aſſembled in great Numbers together, under the Conduct of ſix Kings, and encamp'd near *Strasbourg*. Tho' at length they found that *Julian* was ſtill in the Country, yet being inform'd by a Deſerter that he had not above thirteen thouſand Men with him, they had the Arrogance to ſend in a menacing, imperious manner, and commanded him inſtantly to quit the Country he had invaded, which was purchas'd by the Valour and Conduct of their Fore-fathers, otherwiſe that they would denounce open War againſt him. *Julian*, not mov'd with the Meſſage, but laughing at the Inſolence of the Barbarians, detain'd the Meſſengers 'till he had compleated the Work, and then march'd directly againſt 'em; when he had firſt by a ſet Speech encourag'd his Men, who were of their own Inclinations forward enough, and demanded with one Voice to be lead on againſt the Enemy; who, inform'd of their Approach, ſtood in a readineſs to receive them. The *Romans*, during the whole Courſe of this War, had never been ſo hardly put to it as now; for beſides that the Enemy were more than double their Number, they were headed by *Chnodomarius* and *Serapio*, the moſt valiant of their Kings, aſſiſted by five others, and ten more of the Royal Families, together with a great Number of the Nobility.

His Victory over the Barbarians at Argentoratum.

The Right Wing of the *Romans* Army conſiſted of their Cavalry, which the Enemy oppos'd with the choice of their Horſe, lining their Ranks up and down with ſome Foot, who creeping and inſinuating themſelves here and there, as occaſion re-

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quir'd, ſtabb'd their Horſes, and put 'em at firſt into a great Confuſion, and at laſt to an abſolute Flight; nor could all the Rhetorick *Julian* was Maſter of perſuade 'em, for a long time, to rally and charge a ſecond time upon the Enemy, who were by this time fallen with great Violence upon the Foot, and had cut themſelves a Paſſage through the Legions, 'till they had pierc'd up as far as the Body of thoſe call'd *Primani*, who being the choiceſt of the *Roman* Infantry took Advantage of their Raſhneſs, and put 'em to a diſorderly and bloody Flight. Many of 'em, unable to fly faſt enough for the Heaps of the dead Bodies that choak'd up the Way, ventur'd to take the *Rhine*, wherein moſt of 'em were drown'd, kill'd and taken. Among the reſt *Chnodomarius*, endeavouring to paſs the Water, was purſu'd and forc'd to yield; they that took him brought him to *Cæſar*, of whom he begg'd Pardon with great Submiſſion, which being granted him he was ſent to *Rome*, where he dy'd ſome time after of a Lethargy. Of the Enemy ſix thouſand dy'd upon the Place, beſides vaſt Numbers of thoſe that periſh'd in the River. The *Romans* loſt no more than two hundred forty three Men. After this ſo unexpected a Victory the Army ſaluted *Julian* by the Title of *Auguſtus*, but he abſolutely refus'd it, and reprov'd the Soldiers for it, telling 'em 'twas an Honour belonging to none of right but *Conſtantius*; who upon the News of his Succeſs attributed this, as he did all the reſt, to his own fortunate Conduct, as if he had been fighting himſelf at the Head of his Armies.

Julian, after the Battel, ſent away his Priſoners and all his Booty to *Metz*, whilſt he himſelf advanc'd to *Mayence*, where he built a Bridge over the River, and fell upon the *Germans* in their own Country, which he laid waſte by way of Retaliation,

tion, and began to repair a Fort to which the Emperor *Trajan* had formerly given his own Name. With this the Barbarians were ſo exceedingly diſcourag'd, that they ſent and ſu'd for a Peace, which could not be obtain'd upon any Terms, but a Truce was granted them for ten Months, which they oblig'd themſelves inviolably to maintain, and in which time *Julian* concluded the Fortifications he had begun would be finiſh'd; returning from thence in order to put his Men into Winter-Quarters, he was forc'd to chaſtiſe ſome *Franks*, who preſuming upon his Abſence in *Germany*, had, to the number of ſix hundred, rifled all the Country about *Rheims*, and hearing of his Return ſeiz'd on two Forts which had been diſmantled, and therein fortify'd themſelves in the beſt manner they could. One of theſe Caſtles, ſtanding upon the *Meuſe*, *Julian* beſieg'd, and tho' they defended themſelves with great Obſtinacy for fifty Day together in the midſt of Winter, yet he preſs'd 'em ſo hard that they were forc'd to ſurrender, and were all ſent away to the Emperor; after which he diſpers'd his Men into Winter-Quarters, and went himſelf to *Paris*, where he conſulted how to improve the ſmall time of the Truce to the Eaſe and Refreſhment of the exhauſted Provinces.

VII. The Year following the *Quadi* under the Command of *Vitrodorus*, and the *Sarmatæ* led by *Zizais* their King, broke with great Violence into *Pannonia*, upon which the Emperor early in the Spring ſet forward from *Sirmium* with a very good Army; and tho' the *Danube* was at that time ſwoln very much by reaſon of a ſudden Thaw, he made a Bridge of Boats and paſs'd the River. This unexpected Diligence in the Emperor very much perplex'd the Barbarians who were in no manner pre-

A. D. 358.

The Quadi *invade the Empire,*

par'd

par'd to receive him, ſo that they who were beſt able to defend their Country, inſtead of reſiſting the Enemy ſhifted for themſelves, and left their Friends and Relations expos'd to the Fury of the *Roman* Soldiers, by which means all that Part of *Sarmatia* which lay neareſt to *Pannonia Secunda* was entirely ruin'd. This at length provok'd the Inhabitants ſo far, that being aſſiſted by their Friends the *Quadi*, they try'd their Fortune in ſeveral Rencounters, but were as often defeated. This made 'em ſo deſirous of Peace, that they were content to deliver up themſelves, their Wives, Children, and Territories into the Emperor's Hands to purchaſe it, which however they obtain'd upon cheaper Terms, being only oblig'd to reſtore the Priſoners they had taken, and for the future ſubmit to his Commands.

but are ſuppreſt by Conſtantius.

This Act of Clemency towards *Zizais* and his Aſſociates, had ſuch Operation upon their Neighbours, that thoſe of the *Quadi* who inhabited beyond the Mountains, and the *Sarmatæ* next adjoining to them, in a juſt Senſe of the many Outrages they had committed, came in the greateſt Humility to ſue for a Pardon and Peace, which they obtain'd upon giving up their Hoſtages choſen by Lot out of the Sons of the Nobility, and with them ſuch Priſoners as they had taken. There yet remain'd the *Sarmatæ Limigantes*, thoſe who being Slaves had diſpoſſeſs'd their Maſters, as we obſerv'd before, who had committed ſuch outragious Villanies as call'd aloud for Puniſhment; however the Emperor intended to deal more gently with them than they deſerv'd, and only to remove 'em farther off, that they might not be tempted by Opportunity ſo often to infeſt the Empire. Upon appearance of the *Roman* Army they pretended an extraordinary Fear, as if they expected nothing but Deſtruction: They begg'd Pardon, and promis'd an yearly

yearly Tribute both of Men and Mony, and to remain ſubject to the Empire. *Conſtantius*, who gave too great Credit to their gentle Behaviour, order'd them to come over to the hither Bank of the River, there to be inform'd of his Pleaſure, which they did, but rather to diſpute his Commands than obey them, and to let him know they were not afraid to Face his Army. The Emperor obſerving their ſurly Temper, ſo diſpos'd of his Men as to encompaſs them, and prevent their Deſigns ſhould they attempt any Violence; then ſtanding on an Eminence rais'd on purpoſe, that he might be ſeen and heard, attended by ſome of his Principal Officers, and his Guards about him, he gently admoniſh'd them to be quiet. But they mixt their Deſires of Peace with a ſort of Stratagem, for they caſt their Targets at a great diſtance from them, as in Jeſt, that going to take them up, they might gain the more Ground, and give the better Onſet. Night coming on, the Army with Banners diſplay'd fell upon them, whereupon they made with great Fury towards the Throne; but the Soldiers ſpeedily forming themſelves into the ſhape of a Wedge, with great Violence remov'd them, and then ſlaughter'd them like ſo many Wild Beaſts caught in the Toil; but they fell with invincible Conſtancy and Reſolution, asking neither for Pardon nor Quarter, but avowing in Death they deſerv'd a better Fortune. This Execution being over, the enrag'd Soldiers dragg'd the Relations of thoſe who were Slain out of their Huts, and without regard to Sex or Age deſtroy'd all alike. Some that eſcap'd attempted to ſwim the River, but were either drown'd or kill'd by the Purſuers. The reſt of theſe *Limigantes* upon Security of the publick Faith, came down from the Mountains, and flock'd with all their Relations to the *Roman* Camp, from whence they were remov'd by

their

their own Conſent to other Places, where for ſome time they liv'd in Peace, and Security, but at length return'd to their former Fierceneſs and Barbarity. After this the Emperor, for theſe his Atchievements call'd *Sarmaticus* by his Soldiers, return'd to *Sirmium* in Triumph; from thence he remov'd towards *Conſtantinople*, the better to prepare againſt *Sapor* the King of *Perſia*, who for ſome time had laid Claim to *Armenia* and *Meſopotamia*, and was now reſolv'd to make it good by force of Arms.

A. D. 359.

The King of Perſia *begins new Troubles.*

VIII. He being now in perfect Peace with the Princes his Neighbours, and obſerving the Diſtractions of the Empire, thought it a proper time to purſue his Pretenſions. *Conſtantius* was wholly guided by *Euſebius* the Eunuch, a proud, factious, intriguing Courtier, who liſten'd more to his own Avarice, Ambition or Revenge, than his Maſter's Honour or Profit. *Urſicinus* at that time commanded in the Faſt, and was the fitteſt Man in the Empire for that Poſt, in Caſe of a War. *Euſebius* had long been contriving his Ruin, as being the only Perſon who was either Independent of him, or elſe ſcorn'd his Support; and herein he ſucceeded ſo far that he was recall'd to Court under a Pretence of ſucceeding *Barbatio*, who had been lately Beheaded, and *Sabinianus* a decrepit old Man, every way unfit for ſuch an Employment, was ſent in his Place; who making what haſte he could to be poſſeſs'd of his new Dignity, produc'd the Emperor's Letters to his Predeceſſor at *Cilicia*; the Subſtance of which being known abroad, created great Uneaſineſs in the People, who judg'd themſelves expos'd to manifeſt Ruin, being depriv'd of their Guardian at ſo nice and dangerous a Conjuncture; on the other Hand the King of *Perſia* was reſolv'd not to omit ſo favourable an Opportunity, but march with all ſpeed

Urſicinus *recall'd from his Command,*

and Sabinianus *ſent in his room.*

and

nd ſeize on thoſe Countries, which were now go-
ern'd by ſo unfit a Command r; being prompted
o it by the Advice of *Antoninus*, who had lately
een a Servant to the Emperor, but being injur'd
nd oppreſs'd by the great Officers had withdrawn
ith all his Family, and thrown himſelf into the
rotection of *Sapor*; to whom he diſcover'd the
hole State of the Army, of what Numbers the
everal Parties conſiſted, of what Strength, where
uarter'd, and who commanded them in times of
xpedition; as likewiſe whence, where, and how
hey were furniſh'd with Arms and Proviſion.

In the mean time *Urſicinus*, purſuant to his Or-
ers, was returning into *Italy*, but in *Thrace* he re-
eiv'd Letters from *Conſtantius*, requiring him to haſte
ack into *Meſopotamia*, but without any Guard, for
hat the Power was now entruſted in another's Hand;
nd this was contriv'd on purpoſe by his Enemies,
hat the new Commander might have the Honour of
he Action, if the King of *Perſia* miſcarry'd, but if
e ſucceeded in his Expedition, the Ignominy might
e charg'd upon *Urſicinus*, as a Traitor to his Coun-
ry. However he return'd in Obedience to the Em-
eror's Command, and tho' he found *Sabinianus* a
Man of a mean Spirit and narrow Soul, he took the
eſt Care he could, and diligently fortify'd *Niſibis*,
eſt the Enemy ſhould attack it unawares. Under-
tanding the *Perſians* had paſs'd the *Tigris*, he with
ome Forces travers'd the Country, burnt up all the
orage, and fortify'd the Bank on this ſide *Euphra-
es*; ſo that the *Perſians* could neither find Subſiſtance
or their Army, nor a Ford to paſs the River, 'till
Antoninus conducted 'em more towards the Right,
here they found Graſs and Corn enough, and a
lace towards the Head of the River that was fordable.
During theſe Marches and Counter-marches *Urſi-
inus* by chance met with *Antoninus*, whom he re-
viled

viled in very bitter Terms, calling him Villain and Traitor. *Antonimus*, inſtead of endeavouring to conceal himſelf, leap'd from his Horſe, took the *Tiara* which as a Badge of the greateſt Honour had been preſented him, from his Head, bowed himſelf to the Ground, call'd him Patron and Lord, and begg'd him to pardon him; confeſſing he had embrac'd a diſhonourable Courſe, but was neceſſitated to it by the Advice and Oppreſſion of ſome, *againſt whom neither your Power*, ſaid he, *Virtue or Authority can protect you*; and then withdrew to his Party with all the Signs of Submiſſion and Reſpect.

Not long after this two *Roman* Caſtles were ſurrender'd to *Sapor*, who in proſecution of his Deſign

King Sapor *beſieges* Amida.

came the third Day after, and ſate down before *Amida*, the Metropolis of *Meſopotamia*, much beautify'd and enlarg'd by *Conſtantius*; which he expected would have been deliver'd up to him immediately, and not have hinder'd him in the Purſuit of thoſe Councils had been ſuggeſted to him by *Antoninus*, concluding thoſe within would not dare to hold out, when once they beheld him in all his Pomp of Majeſty at the Gate: But was highly incens'd when he found they were ſo far from receiving him with the Honour he expected, that they aſſaulted him with their Javelins from the Wall, one of which was directed ſo well that it cut off part of his Robe: Upon which he exclaim'd againſt them with as much Indignation as if they had ſacrilegiouſly robb'd a Temple, in that they had preſum'd to offer Violence to him that was Lord of ſo many Kings and Nations, and therefore finding upon a ſecond Trial that they were inflexible, he reſolv'd at once to deſtroy the Town and the Inhabitants, and accordingly prepar'd for a vigorous Attack; while they within, who thought of nothing but how to die with moſt Honour, prepar'd for as vigorous a

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Defence. Never was Siege carry'd on with more Bravery, nor ſo many Men loſt in ſo ſhort a time. The Beſieg'd, beſides the Difficulties they met with from without, labour'd with as great within; for ſuch a noiſom Stench aroſe at that hot Seaſon of the Year from the multitude of dead Bodies which cover'd the Streets, and which they had not time to bury, that it bred a devouring Peſtilence, which swept away almoſt as many as the Sword. In the mean time *Urſicinus*, tho' much diſdaining to be ſubjected to the Command of another Perſon, eſpecially one ſo unworthy as *Sabinianus*, however ſent and advis'd him to bring the *Velites* into the Field, that they might divert the Enemy, and force him to raiſe the Siege, or at leaſt diſtreſs him in his Trenches, and intercept him by Stratagems as he remov'd from Place to Place. But *Sabinianus*, who had privately agreed with thoſe who had promoted him never to give his Predeceſſor the Opportunity of doing any thing that would redound to his Honour, tho' the Provinces in the mean time lay at ſtake, abſolutely deny'd him, alledging his Inſtructions were to do nothing that might endanger the Army.

Urſicinus deſiring to relieve it, is oppos'd by Sabinianus.

There were in *Amida* two Legions of *Gauls*, who had formerly ſerv'd under *Magnentius*. They, unuſed to the Fatigues of Sieges, were impatient to ſee themſelves immur'd up, whilſt their Enemies rag'd with ſo much Fury abroad; eſpecially when they beheld from the Walls a multitude of miſerable Wretches led into Slavery, whom *Sapor* had forc'd out of the ſeveral Forts in the Country, whither they had flock'd for Safety, many of whom, ſpent with Travel, and unable to proceed any further, they hamſtring'd, and left behind on the Roads: Whereupon, grown too unruly for their Commanders, they took the Advantage of a dark miſty Night, and iſ-

A deſperate Attempt of ſome Gauls.

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ſu'd out at a Poſtern, arm'd with Swords and Battel-Axes, having firſt fortify'd themſelves by their Prayers, and then proceeded with ſo much Caution that they were in hopes of reaching the King's Quarters without Diſcovery; but falling of neceſſity upon the Guards, whom they cut in pieces, the Noiſe of the wounded quickly alarm'd the Body-Guard, which put theſe daring *Gauls* to a ſtand, who finding themſelves fruſtrated of what they chiefly aim'd at, retir'd in the beſt order they could out of the Lines, with their Faces ſtill turn'd towards the Enemy, and by degrees recover'd the City with the Loſs of 400 of their Company, beſides thoſe that were wounded, having narrowly miſs'd killing the *Perſian* King, tho' ſurrounded by an Army of 100000 fighting Men. The riſing Sun diſcover'd to the *Perſians* the mighty Loſs they had ſuſtain'd; ſeveral of the principal Nobility were found among the Slain, which rais'd a general Lamentation throughout the Camp, the King himſelf having the greateſt Reaſon to bewail the Loſs of his neareſt Friends and Relations. This made him puſh on the Siege with more Vigour, and oblig'd the Beſieg'd to defend themſelves with more obſtinate Reſolution; and thus Rage combating with Deſpair occaſion'd the Loſs of many brave Men on both ſides. But at length the very Inſtruments of their Defence reduced the Beſieg'd to the laſt Extremity. One of the Mounts they had rais'd to oppoſe the *Perſian* Towers remov'd, as with an Earthquake, and fell upon the Wall, bearing it down into the Ditch, where it ſerv'd as a Bridge to the Enemy, and gave 'em a large Entrance. The greateſt Part of the Garriſon were by this time kill'd or diſabled, and yet they that were left flock'd in great Numbers to make good the Breach, tho' at the certain Hazard of their Lives. But the Vigour and Alacrity of the *Perſi-*

Amida taken.

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n King, who expos'd himſelf equally with the meaneſt Soldier, bore down all before him. The Ditch was fill'd with dead Bodies, which thereby afforded a larger Acceſs to the Town. When no farther Reſiſtance could be made, the Defendants, half dead already with their Watching and Labour, were ſlaughter'd like Sheep, without any Regard had to Sex or Age. Some of the moſt healthy got together, and made as reſolute an Oppoſition as they were able, reſolving to ſell their Lives at as dear a Rate as they could. But *Ammianus* our Hiſtorian, with two or three more eſcap'd, and got ſafe to *Urſicinus*, who was then on his way to *Antioch*. *Sapor* having ras'd the City, as he threaten'd, return'd homeward in an outward Show of Triumph, but inwardly afflicted at the Loſs of ſo many Men, for no leſs than thirty thouſand are ſaid to have periſh'd on his Side before the Town; which, conſidering it hinder'd him from purſuing thoſe advantageous Deſigns ſuggeſted to him by *Antoninus*, gave him little Reaſon to brag of his Expedition. *and deſtroy'd.*

Tho' *Urſicinus* had done all he could, without the Concurrence of the Commander in chief, who in every thing oppos'd him, to relieve the Town; yet the Loſs of that, and ſeveral other heinous Matters, were with all Bitterneſs alledg'd againſt him at his Return to Court, whither he was ſent for under the Pretence of ſucceeding *Barbatio*. The Emperor, whoſe Ears were always open to Accuſations, tho' brought againſt his moſt faithful Servants, committed the Hearing of the Matter to *Arbetio* and *Florentius*, with Charge to enquire into *Urſicinus* his Conduct, and how *Amida* came to be deſtroy'd. Urſicinus *accus'd at Court.*

The Allegations brought againſt him were ſo notoriouſly falſe, that they could not for Shame but reject 'em; and yet ſo much were they afraid of offending *Euſebius*, that they durſt not lay the Load

as they ought, upon the baſe Cowardiſe of *Sabinianus*, and therefore declining any farther Enquiry into that Affair, they inſiſted only on trifling Matters that were foreign to the Purpoſe. *Urſicinus*, worthily provok'd at ſuch corrupt Proceedings, told 'em boldly, That tho' they paſs'd it over with ſo much Contempt, the Thing was of too great a Conſequence to be neglected: That it deſerv'd the Emperor's own Examination, who could not but ſeverely puniſh ſo foul a Miſcarriage, in whomſoever he ſhould find it; and foreſaw that ſo long as he ſuffer'd himſelf thus to be govern'd by Eunuchs, tho' he ſhould go himſelf in Perſon next Spring with an Army into the Field, yet ſhould he not be able to protect *Meſopotamia*. This was told to *Conſtantius* with very malicious Aggravations, which ſo highly incens'd him that he broke off the Inquiſition, not permitting thoſe things to be expos'd to the Light which had been induſtriouſly hid from his Knowledge; and turn'd *Urſicinus* out of his Place, confining him to live a retir'd Life in the Country.

and confin'd to a private Life.

IX. In the mean time *Julian* proceeded with wonderful Succeſs againſt the *Germans* inhabiting on both Sides of the *Rhine*, and in the end forc'd 'em to accept of a Peace, upon ſuch Conditions as he thought fit to preſcribe. And hearing the *Picts* and *Scots* were making Incurſions into the *Roman* Territories in *Great Britain*, he ſent thither his Lieutenant *Lupicinus*, who drove 'em back into the Northern Parts of the Iſland, and ſettled the Subjects of the Empire in Peace and Tranquility.

Theſe Exploits, which added much to *Cæſar's* Reputation, were no way acceptable to the jealous Temper of *Conſtantius*, who thought thoſe new Acceſſions to the Empire were no other than Diminutions to his Honour and Security. He remember'd

The Emperor jealous of Julian,

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how dangerous *Gallus* had like to have prov'd to him, and look'd on him as ſtill living in *Julian*; for which Reaſon he greatly deſir'd to weaken and oppreſs him, which could be done no way ſo effectually as by recalling part of his Army from him, for which he had now a fair Opportunity, and, outwardly at leaſt, a very juſt Pretence.

Sapor, perſiſting ſtill in his Reſolution of conquering *Meſopotamia*, had paſs'd the *Tigris*, and laid cloſe Siege to *Singara*, which, after a vigorous Defence, he took by Aſſault; as he did likewiſe *Bezabde*, a ſtrong Fort ſituated on a Hill, the Walls of which he repair'd, and put into it a good Garriſon, well knowing of what Conſequence it was to either Party that were in Poſſeſſion of it: And if his victorious Arms had not met with ſome Reſiſtance at *Urze*, he had undoubtedly over-ran all *Meſopotamia*; which *Conſtantius* was in Intereſt and Duty bound, if poſſible, to prevent, and therefore ſent to *Julian* for the beſt Soldiers and moſt experienc'd Commanders of his Army, together with all the Auxiliary Troops he had rais'd in *Gaul* and *Germany*, that by ſuch an Acceſſion of Strength he might be the better able to make Head againſt the *Perſians*. Theſe Forces had been rais'd by *Julian*, upon a Promiſe that they ſhould never be oblig'd to paſs the *Alps*, nor be forc'd to ſerve in remote Parts, which their Officers in a ſubmiſſive manner repreſented to him. He receiv'd 'em with wonderful Civility, inform'd 'em that he was as much diſſatisfy'd as themſelves, but that it was the Emperor's Pleaſure, which by all means was to be obey'd. He highly commended ſuch of them as were known to him, remember'd them of the glorious Things they had perform'd under his Conduct, expreſs'd a great Unwillingneſs to part with ſuch worthy Fellow-Soldiers; however in the Concluſion gently adviſ'd them *chearfully to*

ſends for part of his Army;

ſubmit to the Emperor's Command, and ſignalize their Valour in foreign Parts, for which they might be aſſur'd of very honourable Rewards: And when he had finiſh'd his Speech, he invited them all to Supper, where he entertain'd 'em with much Tenderneſs and Affection, as well as Magnificence. This Condeſcenſion prevail'd ſo far with Men, who were before unwilling to be baniſh'd in a manner from their Native Country, and were now reſolv'd never to part with ſo obliging a Commander, that they had not Patience to ſtay 'till Morning, but after they were diſmiſs'd from Supper they communicated their Thoughts to one another, and return'd in a menacing manner to the Palace, which they ſurrounded, and with a rude tumultuous Noiſe ſaluted *Julian* by the Title of *Auguſtus*. He at firſt outwardly oppos'd the Honour they were beſtowing upon him, and reminded 'em of their Duty; but when he found they were firm to their Purpoſe, and that all he could ſay made no Impreſſion on 'em, he with much ſeeming Reluctancy was at length compell'd to accept of the *Imperial Title*.

who mutiny, and declare Julian Emperor.

A. D. 360. For ſome time after this he kept himſelf retir'd without any Regard to the publick Affairs, as if he were diſpleas'd and uneaſie at what was done; but when he found the Soldiers began to be in an Uproar, and how it was ſpread abroad in the Camp that he was ſecretly murder'd, which threw 'em all into a Flame, he ſhow'd himſelf publickly among 'em like an Emperor, and from a Tribunal erected on purpoſe, he addreſs'd himſelf to 'em, as his manner was, in a very lively Speech, bidding 'em remember *with how much Virtue and Sobriety he had liv'd among them; with how much Diligence, Pain and Patience he had contributed to the many Victories they had obtain'd over the Barbarians; how he had ever been a Sharer with them in all their*

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abours, whilſt in the depth of Winter, when others as'd from War, they puſh'd on their Fortunes a-inſt the Germans, *and conquer'd thoſe, who 'till en had been invincible. But above all, that glo-us Day was never to be forgotten, which in a eat meaſure bleſs'd the* Gauls *with a perpetual iberty, purchas'd by their own Valour, and the erit of their Arms in that memorable Battel near rgentoratum, where whole Torrents of their Ene-ies fell with Violence upon them, but were receiv'd th ſuch a God-like Virtue, that to avoid the rror of their Swords they committed themſelves the Dangers of the Deep, and fled from Death to the Arms of Deſtruction: He appeal'd to n if his Example did not lead 'em on to Vi-ry, for which he tugg'd there where Death was ieſt, and Danger appear'd in every Shape: He ur'd 'em that theſe their great Deſerts would e in the Mouth of Fame to late Poſterity, e-cially if they took care to defend him they had is'd, and vindicate their Authority which was their own Creation; for his part he was re-v'd to Rule with Juſtice and Moderation, that never ſhould be ſaid Valour went unrewarded his Days, or Ambition ſeiz'd on what was due Merit.*

A Speech conſiſting of ſuch popular Topicks uld not but be acceptable to the Soldier, who ving hitherto receiv'd no Reward for all his Ser-es, aſſur'd himſelf mighty Advantages from a ign that promis'd ſuch material Regulations.

After this, *Julian* began again to apply himſelf the Affairs of State, and Exerciſe of the Sove-gn Authority, making ſuch Alteration in the urt and the Army as he judg'd convenient; and owing how much *Conſtantius* would be diſpleas'd what was done, he diſpatch'd *Pentadius* and *Eu-*

therius, two of his Principal Officers, with Letter to him, in which he repreſented *the great Labour and imminent Dangers he had undergone in the Execution of the Service he impos'd upon him, and with what readineſs he had embrac'd it. How the Army, ſenſible of his high Deſerts, and the Hardſhips they lay under in being forc'd to quit their Native Country, and ſerve in Foreign Parts, had compell'd him to accept of that, which he obſtinately refus'd 'till they threaten'd him with Death and had given him reaſon to think they would have veſted the ſame Honour in ſome other when they had diſpatch'd him. That he own'd he ow'd his Advancement entirely to him, and ſhould never make an ungrateful uſe of the Power which was now given him. However he gave him to underſtand that he could not approve of his laſt Order that* Gaul *was ſo far from being able to ſend aid of her Natives againſt the* Perſians, *that ſhe ſtood rather in need of Aſſiſtance from the other Provinces, being continually harraſs'd either with Foreign Invaſions or Domeſtick Tumults.* He concluded all *with an earneſt Deſire of his Friendſhip, and told him a mutual Love and good Underſtanding between Princes was the only certain Foundation of a mutual Proſperity.* The Emperor was then upon his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, and was advanc'd as far as *Caſarea*, where the Ambaſſadors from *Julian* found him. Upon his firſt reading the Letters he fell into ſo great a Paſſion, that they who brought 'em were in fear of their Lives; he drove 'em out of his Preſence, and commanded them no more to appear upon ſo Preſumptuous a Meſſage before him; then he conſider'd with himſelf whether he had beſt proceed in his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, or turn back and chaſtiſe his Rebellious Kinſman; after ſome Deliberation, con-

At which Conſtantius *is enrag'd.*

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Councils prevail'd, and he purſu'd his Expedition a-gainſt the *Perſians*. He diſmiſs'd *Julian*'s Meſſen-gers without any Anſwer, but ſent *Leonas* his Quæ-ſtor into *Gaul* preſently after with Letters to him. *Leonas* being arriv'd at *Paris*, was kindly receiv'd by *Julian*, to whom he deliver'd the Emperor's Let-ters, whilſt he was upon the Tribunal, in the Preſence of the Army, at which he was not a little pleas'd. He order'd 'em to be read openly to the whole As-ſembly, who for ſome time liſten'd with Patience; but when they came to that Part wherein he ad-moniſh'd and exhorted him, if he had any regard to his own Security, and that of his Friends, to humble himſelf, and be ſatisfy'd with the Dignity of *Cæſar*, which he permitted him ſtill to enjoy, but diſapprov'd and annull'd whatever elſe had been done, they cry'd out with one Voice, *Julian Au-guſtus*; alledging *it was unlawful in any to revoke what had been ratify'd by the Army and the People*; and that they were reſolv'd to ſtand by their Ele-ction. With this Anſwer *Leonas* return'd to the Emperor, to give him an Account of his Embaſſie; and *Julian*, who was unwilling, as yet, to come to an open Rupture, diſpatch'd other Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantius*, by whom he aſſur'd him of his good Intentions and Zeal for his Service. After which, that he might keep himſelf and his Army ſtill in Action, he march'd into *Germany*, and having paſs'd the *Rhine*, he fell ſuddenly upon the *Attuarii*, the Inhabitants of *Franconia*, a turbulent uneaſie People, that had lately made ſeveral Incurſions into *Gaul*, who being not prepar'd for ſo unexpected a Viſit were eaſily ſubdu'd, and forc'd to ſubmit to ſuch Laws as the Conqueror thought fit to impoſe up-on them, by which means he made a ſufficient Pro-viſion for the Peace of the Empire on that ſide; from thence repaſſing the River, he reinforc'd the

Garriſons upon the Borders, came to the *Rauraci*, where he recover'd ſome Places out of the Enemy's Hands, fortify'd 'em, and return'd by the way of *Beſançon* to *Vienna* upon the *Rhône*, where he continu'd a great part of the Winter. About this time his Wife *Helena* dy'd, without leaving any Children behind her, which was imputed chiefly to the Practices of the Empreſs *Euſebia*, as has been before obſerv'd.

Helena, Julian's Wife, dies;

and the Empreſs Euſebia.

Nor did *Euſebia* her ſelf long ſurvive her, but dy'd whilſt the Emperor lay at *Antioch*. She was a Woman of a great Capacity, and well acquainted with the Languages and Sciences. Her Wit and Conduct were ſo prevailing as to gain her an Abſolute Power over her Husband, which ſhe unfortunately abus'd in Defence of Arianiſm, a Hereſie ſhe had ſuck'd in with her Milk, and to which ſhe gave her Protection during her whole Life. And here it will not be amiſs to give the Reader a ſhort Account of the State the Church was in during this Emperor's Reign.

The State of the Church under Conſtantius.

Chriſtianity had, from the time of *Conſtantine* the Great, met with wonderful Encouragement, and was propagated in all Parts; it was profeſs'd in *Perſia*, *Armenia*, in *Georgia*, and among the *Iberi*, Inhabitants of Mount *Caucaſus*, towards the *Caſpian* Sea. It had been planted in *India*, where it had ſome Churches, a Biſhop, and Multitudes of Profeſſors, ſo that the Promiſe to the Son was already in a great meaſure accompliſh'd, *That he ſhould have the Heathen for his Inheritance, and the utmoſt Parts of the Earth for his Poſſeſſion*; but among this good Seed which the Holy Spirit of Truth had ſown in ſo plentiful a meaſure, the Enemy had mingled ſome Tares, which multiply'd with a ſudden Encreaſe, to the great Danger of Chriſtianity, and Scandal to the Faithful; and the Church

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may be ſaid to have ſuffered more in thoſe Days, from them who profeſs'd themſelves her Fathers, Confeſſors, and Defenders, than the open and avow'd Malice of her moſt implacable Perſecutors.

The Council of *Nice* had in a very ſolemn manner Condemn'd *Arius* his Heretical Doctrine; to which Condemnation, tho' ſome of the Biſhops that were infected by him had craftily ſubſcrib'd, yet did they privately favour his Opinions during *Conſtantine*'s Reign, and more openly maintain, and profeſs 'em under his Son *Conſtantius*; who being himſelf tainted with that abominable Peſtilence, ſuffer'd it to ſpread through *Conſtantinople*, the Metropolis of the Eaſt, from whence it iſſu'd forth and poiſon'd the greateſt part of the Weſtern Empire, and grew up into a mercileſs Perſecution againſt all the ſound Believers; which was the more dangerous, for that it was manag'd under the Pretence of Piety. Biſhops, that had been Canonically choſen, and regularly eſtabliſh'd, were tumultuouſly pull'd out of their Sees by the Authority or Contrivance of *Conſtantius*, and other ſubſtituted in their Places, for no other Reaſon but becauſe they violently adher'd to *Arius* his Tenets, denying the Divinity of the Eternal Son of God. One Council was ſummon'd to annul what another had done, and all things were manag'd with that Faction, Strife and Contention, as if they labour'd to quench the Spirit of Meekneſs and Brotherly Love, ſo often recommended in the Goſpel. Some were baniſh'd, ſome impriſon'd, and againſt others they proceeded with more Severity, even to the loſs of their Lives; notwithſtanding which the Church had then her Confeſſors, that with a Divine Conſtancy preſerv'd the Faith entire and uncorrupted.

X. *Julian*

X. *Julian* was all this Winter conſidering with himſelf what Courſe he was to take, whether it were moſt prudent to endeavour to bring Matters to an amicable Compoſure with *Conſtantius*, and perſuade him by fair means to admit him for his Colleague, or wreſt a Compliance from him by open Force, and by ſtriking firſt add the greater Terror to his Arms. He thought it dangerous to depend upon his Friendſhip, under the Pretext of which he might the more eaſily deſtroy him, as he had done his Brother *Gallus* before. On the other Hand, it was no leſs dangerous to provoke him to be his Enemy, he having always been too ſtrong for thoſe who ſet themſelves up in Oppoſition againſt him; beſides, it would be a piece of the higheſt Ingratitude, to Rebel againſt his great Friend and Benefactor. However, after ſome Deliberation, he concluded it more ſafe and honourable to ſtand upon his Guard, and therefore openly aſſum'd the Imperial Diadem and Purple, and made all manner of Preparations to march againſt *Conſtantius*, being incited to it by his Magicians, in whom he had an entire Confidence, and the Encouragement he received from ſome Dreams, by which, he ſaid, he knew *Conſtantius* was near his End. He was a downright Heathen in his Heart, but by an Hypocriſie unworthy an honeſt Man, much more a Prince, he conſtantly frequented the Chriſtian Aſſemblies, inſomuch, that upon the Feaſt of the *Epiphany*, which us'd to be obſerv'd with more than ordinary Solemnity in the Church, he publickly aſſiſted at Divine Service, hoping by this means to ſecure the Chriſtians to his Party, who were more in number than the Heathens.

At the beginning of the Spring, whilſt he was buſie in forming and perfecting his great Deſigns, he

he received Advice from the Borders, that the *Germans* were again flown out into Rebellion, and had committed exceſſive Outrages in the Parts adjoining to *Rhætia*, now call'd the Country of the *Griſons*, which he imputed to *Conſtantius* his Inſtigation, who deſign'd in it ſo to embaraſs the *German* Affairs, that *Julian* ſhould have no time to look after him, who indeed had enough to do elſewhere. 'Tis certain he writ to *Vadomarius*, one of their Kings, upon that Subject, and the Letters by accident were intercepted and brought to *Julian*, who found what Pains the Emperor took to entangle him, and therefore was ſo much the more provok'd to break out into open Rebellion; but reſolv'd firſt to puniſh theſe Barbarians, and ſent *Libino*, one of his Commanders, with a ſufficient Force againſt 'em; but he falling unadviſedly upon them, was kill'd in the beginning of the Engagement, and his Men routed. *Julian* advanc'd with all his Army to repair this Loſs, and was herein ſo ſucceſsful, that he defeated the Enemy, took their King Priſoner, whom he ſent under a Guard into *Spain*, conſtrain'd 'em to ask Pardon, reſtore the Booty they had lately taken, and give him all Aſſurances of a quiet and dutiful Behaviour for the future; which being done, he reſolv'd to march directly againſt *Conſtantius* and attack him. So that as ſoon as he had ſacrific'd to *Bellona*, the Goddeſs of War, and had by that means ſecur'd her to his Party, he aſſembled the Army, and from his Tribunal addreſs'd himſelf to 'em with more open Authority than formerly. He repreſented to 'em *what great things they had already done under his Conduct, how they had reſtrain'd the* Germans, *and made the* Rhine *paſſable to the* Roman *Armies. He bid 'em remember in what a miſerable Condition he found* Gaul, *and in what a flouriſhing*

flouriſhing State he ſhould leave it; and exhorted them to aſſiſt him with Chearfulneſs and Reſolution to make himſelf own'd for Emperor, ſince they, his great Comerades, had thought him worthy ſo glorious a Title. He told 'em there were greater things behind, which, if he ſucceeded in this Expedition, he would undertake for their Honour, and the Welfare of the Empire. That as he had hitherto behav'd himſelf with all Care and Diligence, ſo would he proceed, conſtantly endeavouring to diſcharge a good Conſcience, and aim at nothing but what regarded the Publick Good. He deſir'd 'em to confirm that Concord and Fidelity that they had expreſs'd towards him by a Military Oath, as it was uſual; conclu.ng with this Advice, *That they ſhould make haſte to ſeize upon the Limits of* Dacia, *before the Provinces of* Illyricum *were ſecur'd by Garriſons, beſeeching 'em not to ſully the Fame they had already acquir'd by their Moderation, nor offer an Injury to any private Man whatſoever.* When he had done, the whole Army with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy took the accuſtom'd Oath, promiſing to follow him where-ever he thought fit to lead 'em, and to endure all Extremities for his ſake. *Nebridius* was the only Man throughout the Army who refuſs'd the Oath; he alledg'd the great Obligations he had to *Conſtantius*, and his former Oath to him would not permit him to bind himſelf by a ſecond to any other; notwithſtanding which, *Julian* diſmiſs'd him in Safety, and having preferr'd *Germanianus* to his Place, he ſent away *Saluſt* to be his Lieutenant in *Gaul*.

Julian *openly profeſſes himſelf a Heathen.*

Julian, thinking his Army well ſecur'd to him by this Oath, began to throw off the Mask, and publickly to declare himſelf a Heathen; he took upon

on him the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, as was cuſtomary with his Predeceſſors that were Heathens, and ſtrictly obſerv'd all their Idolatrous Ceremonies. After this he order'd his Army to march, diſtributing it into ſeveral Parties, ſending *Jovinus* and *Jovius* with ſome by the common Roads of *Italy*, and others under the Conduct of *Nevita* through *Rhætia*, and ſo into *Pannonia*, that marching in ſuch a Compaſs they might ſeem more numerous, and ſtrike greater Terror into their Enemies. They met with nothing to oppoſe their March, but enter'd without the leaſt Reſiſtance into *Illyricum*; for the Inhabitants were perſuaded that he came aſſiſted by all the Kings of *Gaul*, in which Provinces he had perform'd ſuch brave Exploits. At *Sirmium* he was receiv'd with the general Joy and Applauſe of the Inhabitants and Soldiers, who with frequent Acclamations brought him to the Palace, where they proclaim'd him *Auguſtus*. This proſperous Beginning was a great Encouragement to him, for he hop'd that the Example of ſo great and populous a City, would influence others to do the like. The third Day after he left *Sirmium*, and took in *Succi*, a Place famous for its Situation between the Mountains *Hæmus* and *Rhodope*, of which he made *Nevita* Governor; and then went forward to *Neſſus*, a Town of Conſequence, where he reſided for ſome time, writing from thence a Letter to the Senate of *Rome*, in which he exclaim'd againſt *Conſtantius* his Government, loading it with all imaginable Reproaches. This Letter was read publickly in an Aſſembly of the People, by whom the Subſtance of it was in general approv'd: For *Conſtantius* was not much belov'd by the Orthodox Chriſtians, who had been perſecuted by him upon the account of *Arianiſm*, nor acceptable to the Heathens, who were all for *Julian*.

And ſets out againſt the Emperor:

And is joyfully receiv'd at Sirmium.

Thus

Thus far *Julian*'s Affairs met with a ſucceſsful Progreſs; but whilſt he lay at *Neſſus*, without the leaſt Apprehenſion of an Enemy at his Back, he was inform'd that *Nigrinus*, a Tribune of Horſe, had ſeiz'd on *Aquileia* in *Conſtantius* his Name, to whom he knew the Inhabitants were well affected, and put into it two Legions, and a Cohort of Archers. *Julian*, who knew of what Conſequence this would be to his Proceedings, order'd ſome Troops to beſiege it, who preſs'd it very hard, and attempted all ways imaginable to reduce it; but the Beſieg'd behav'd themſelves ſo well, and defended it with ſo much Reſolution, that they held out 'till they heard *Conſtantius* was dead, and then they ſurrender'd.

XI. The Emperor was about this time at *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, whither he had remov'd from *Antioch* at the beginning of the Campaign. He was continually alarm'd with the Account of *Julian*'s Behaviour in the Weſt, and at a loſs to find what Courſe the *Perſians* intended to take in the Eaſt. His Indignation prompted him to go and chaſtiſe his Kinſman, but then it troubled him to think he ſhould leave *Meſopotamia* expos'd to the Violence of the Enemy. He was willing to preſerve his Army as entire as he could, in caſe of a Civil War, which he look'd on as unavoidable; and therefore declining any farther Deſigns upon the *Perſian* Garriſons which he found by Experience to be ſtrongly fortify'd, he ſent part of his Army under *Arbetio* to ſecure the Banks of the *Tigris*, and do the best they could to prevent the *Perſians* ſhould they attempt to paſs it. Theſe Orders were ſo well performed, that the King of *Perſia* was forc'd to return home without attempting any thing; which when the Emperor was inform'd of, he drew his Army together, and departed to *Hierapolis*, leav-

The Emperor prepares to meet him.

only ſuch behind as were neceſſary for the De-
nce of *Meſopotamia*. At *Hierapolis* he caus'd his
rmy to be drawn up in the Camp, and from a
fty Tribunal he told 'em, with a ſerene and plea-
nt Countenance, *That having, through the whole*
urſe of his Reign, endeavour'd ſo to comport him-
lf, as to be free from Reproach, he was now con-
rain'd to accuſe himſelf before them of too much
umanity, which he always thought conduc'd to the
ublick Good. That during the Neceſſity of his Af-
irs he had created Gallus Cæſar, *who ungratefully*
us'd the Honour he had given him, and, after the
ommiſſion of infinite Enormities, had receiv'd the
uniſhment he deſerv'd. That perſiſting ſtill in his
riendſhip and Affection to the Family, he advanc'd
lian *to the ſame Honour; who, intoxicated with a*
w Advantages gain'd over a weak unskilful Ene-
y, preſum'd to rebel againſt the Common-wealth,
hich it was their Part to defend and preſerve from
ch monſtrous Attempts. That he made no doubt but
hen they came to engage, God would fight on their
ide, and turn the Swords of their Enemies againſt
em, in behalf of thoſe who drew not their Swords
t to revenge the fouleſt Treaſon and moſt barbarous
ngratitude. The Army anſwer'd his Speech with
n univerſal Acclamation, deſiring him to lead 'em
here his Service requir'd, and promiſing to ſacri-
ce their Lives and all in the Defence of ſo juſt
nd honourable a Cauſe. By this chearful Anſwer
xceedingly encourag'd, he diſpatch'd *Arbetio* with
good Part of the Army towards the Streights
f *Succi*, where *Julian* then was waiting for the
cceſſion of ſome more Forces, with which he
ntended to invade *Thrace*.

The Emperor after this return'd to *Antioch*, where finding himſelf a little indiſpos'd, he receiv'd Baptiſm

The Emperor indiſpoſed is Baptiſed at Antioch.

tiſm at the Hands of *Euzoius* the *Arian*. From *Antioch* he came to *Tarſus*, where he was ſeiz'd with a feaveriſh Fit; but believing that Motion and Exercise might do him good, he proceeded in his Expedition, and through many difficult Ways at length reach'd *Mopſueſtia* or *Mopſuerene*, a ſmall Town in *Cilicia*, ſituate at the Foot of the Mountain *Taurus*. Hence he intended to proceed the next Day, but was detain'd by the Violence of his Diſeaſe, which increas'd more and more upon him; ſo that all Means us'd for his Recovery proving ineffectual, he dy'd on the fifth of *October*, after he had reign'd near 38 Years, and liv'd 44, *An. Dom.* 361. *Taurus* and *Florentius* being Conſuls. Some ſay that at his Death he nam'd *Julian* for his Succeſſor, for which they plead *Ammianus* his Authority; who however is not poſitive in the Matter, but delivers it in very uncertain Terms, and for fear ſo wild a Will ſhould be call'd in queſtion by Poſterity, he takes care to tell the Word, the Emperor was in his right Senſes when he made it. *Gregory Nazianzen* and ſeveral others, are of a contrary Opinion; they ſay, that *Conſtantius*, foreſeeing what Calamities were like to befal the Church under *Julian*'s Administration, was very ſorry he had made him *Cæſar*, after which it's very improbable he ſhould declare him his Succeſſor. *Gregory* ſaith, he was likewiſe truly penitent for the many Murders he had caus'd to be committed upon his neareſt Relations, and the Cruelties the *Arian* Hereticks had made him exerciſe upon the Faithful.

Conſtantius's *Death.*

A. D. 361.

Succeſſorem ſtatuiſſe dicitur *Julianum.*

It is not eaſie to determine whether his Virtues or Vices were more abundant in him, tho' in Charity we ought to give it for the former. He had a Capacity both in Civil and Military Affairs, that was fit for an Emperor; and a Greatneſs of Mind which made him neglect and deſpiſe all manner of

His Character.

Popu-

Popularity, and taught him how to maintain the Grandure of Majeſty and Authority. He always obſerv'd that uſeful Maxim among Princes, of conferring Honours upon his Subjects with a ſparing Hand, by which he upheld the Reputation of the Nobility. The ſame Care did he uſe in preferring his Servants, advancing none to any Employment of Honour, or Profit, but thoſe who for their Diligence and Integrity had been before eminent in ſome inferior Office. He was chaſte and temperate, and an utter Stranger to thoſe Vices with which Courts too often abound, and are uſually laid to the Charge of thoſe in greateſt Authority. He was a zealous Promoter of the Chriſtian Religion, and eſtabliſh'd ſeveral wholſome Laws for the Suppreſſion of Idolatry, Magick, and ill Manners. On the other hand, he was ſo jealous of his Authority, that upon the leaſt Appearance of a deſign'd Uſurpation there was no end of his Inquiſitions. In his Foreign Wars he was generally unfortunate, and the leaſt ill Succeſs made him diſcompos'd and dejected; in his Civil Contеſts he was always proſperous, and upon every Advantage he grew proud and inſolent. He ſuffer'd himſelf to be govern'd too much by his Wives, Eunuchs and deſigning Courtiers, who by their abominable Flatteries miſ-led and infatuated him. He was not always conſtant in his Favours, but often recall'd what he had before beſtow'd. Add to all this, the innocent Blood he caus'd to be ſpilt during his Reign, and the Protection he gave the *Arians*, in whoſe behalf he diſcountenanc'd and perſecuted the Orthodox Chriſtians, thruſts him out of the Company of good Princes, and ſeems to have drawn down the Vengeance of Heav'n upon himſelf, his Family, and the Empire: Tho' he was out-done in this by his Succeſſor, whom God thought fit to raiſe up for purpoſe to chaſtiſe and purge his Church. For

he being a ſworn Enemy to Chriſtianity, which he carefully oppreſs'd, and preferring none but ſuch as declar'd againſt it, he quickly diſtinguiſh'd thoſe who were Chriſtians indeed, from ſuch as for ſome worldly End had formerly made an outward Profeſſion of it.

Conſtantius his Complexion was brown, his Looks lofty, and his Sight quick and piercing; the Hair of his Head was ſoft; his Face, which he kept conſtantly ſhav'd, ſmooth and comely; from his Neck to his Groin he was very tall, but his Legs were ſhort and bending, which made him excellent at Leaping and Running, Exerciſes in which he took much Delight.

JULIAN. XII. *Conſtantius* being dead, the Corps were committed to the Care of *Jovian*, to be convey'd by him in Royal Pomp to *Conſtantinople*, there to be interr'd near his Progenitors: Whilſt the chief Officers, both Civil and Military, after they had by their Tears and Lamentations teſtify'd the great Reſpect they had for the deceas'd Emperor, conſulted together what Methods were to be taken in reference to a Succeſſor, and after ſome time agreed to diſpatch away *Theolaiphus* and *Aliguldus* to *Julian*, to deſire his Preſence in the Eaſt, where they were all ready to receive his Commands.

Julian was all this while employing himſelf in *Illyricum*, chiefly in a ſuperſtitious Enquiry into the Entrails of Beaſts, ſometimes promiſing himſelf the beſt, at others apprehending the worſt Events; for the moſt part doubtful and uneaſie, not daring to rely upon Conjectures, which too often fall out contrary to what they ſuggeſted. Whilſt he was labouring under this Anxiety of Thoughts, *Theolaiphus* and *Aliguldus* arriv'd with the News of *Conſtantius* his Death, and that he had declar'd him his Suc-

ucceſſor: Upon which, deliver'd now from all his
oubts and Apprehenſions, he gave Orders to march
way into *Thrace* with all Expedition, moving di-
ctly towards *Conſtantinople*; where he was receiv'd
ith the univerſal Joy and Applauſe of the Inhabi-
nts, who beheld him with Wonder, as one dropt
wn from Heav'n; ſcarce believing it poſſible that
young Man as he was, little in Stature, but re-
wn'd for his great Exploits, after an impetuous
arch from City to City, like a riſing Flame de-
uring all that oppos'd him, ſhould at length, as
Divine Appointment, obtain the peaceable Poſ-
ion of the Imperial Seat, without any Expence
Blood and Treaſure to the Common-wealth.

Julian *arrives at* Conſtanti-nople.

Being thus ſettled in the Empire, his firſt Care
s to puniſh ſuch as had the Misfortune to have
n his Enemies formerly, tho' now ſome of 'em
mitted readily, and clos'd in with his Intereſt.
ong theſe was *Nigrinus*, who had ſeiz'd on *A-
leia* in *Conſtantius* his Name, as we obſerv'd be-
e, which he defended reſolutely 'till the Beſieg'd
rd of the Emperor's Death, and then they ſur-
der'd at Diſcretion, laying the Blame of their
inate Reſiſtance upon *Nigrinus*, who for his gal-
Fidelity to his Prince was condemn'd to beburnt
e, which Sentence was executed upon him ac-
dingly. *Apodemius*, who had ſo great a ſhare in
Death of *Gallus* and *Sylvanus*, and *Paul* the No-
, that violent Proſecutor, were likewiſe burnt
e: Nor would the watchful Eye of Juſtice ſuf-
Euſebius, that execrable Eunuch, to eſcape the
iſhment he ſo well deſerv'd. Theſe Proceedings
e juſt and equitable, and had *Julian* gone no
ner he had not put his Friends to the Trouble
ndeavouring to clear him from the Sin of In-
itude; but the Death of *Urſulus* is a Stain all
Arts can't waſh out. This Perſon was *Comes*

Largitionum, or Treaſurer, and when *Julian* was created *Cæſar*, and ſent into the Weſt, he perceiving they had a Deſign to ſtraiten him in Mony, that he might have nothing to beſtow upon the Soldiers, who would thereupon grow bold and ungovernable, ſent Orders to the Treaſurer of *Gaul* to ſupply *Cæſar* with whatever his Occaſions ſhould require. When *Julian* perceiv'd his Death appear'd ſo heinous to the People, he endeavour'd to excuſe a Crime he could not expiate, pretending he fell againſt his Will, and without his Knowledge, by the Fury of the Soldiers, whom a ſevere Reflection of his at *Arimida* had incens'd againſt him. But this his beſt Friends and Followers allow to be a lame Excuſe; and that herein he came ſhort of that regard to Juſtice which at other times they ſay he uſually obſerv'd. An Inſtance of which they give us in his Anſwer to *Delphidius*, who having accus'd *Numerius*, ſome time before Governor of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, of robbing the Publick Treaſury; this bitter Orator finding *Numerius* give ſo good an Anſwer to all his Allegations, that were there no Proofs ſufficient to convict him, turning to *Julian* ask'd him in ſome Paſſion, *If to deny be ſufficient to be clear'd, what Offender will ever be found guilty?* To whom *Julian* reply'd, *And if to accuſe be enough to condemn, what innocent Man will ever be ſafe?*

Julian reforms the Court and the Camp.

From his Inquiſitions upon theſe Perſons *Julian* apply'd himſelf to a Reformation in the Court, the great Officers of which had from an Indigence of Fortune rais'd themſelves up to vaſt Eſtates; they burthen'd the Common-wealth by their intolerable Exactions, and debauch'd it by their vicious Examples. They were in their Demands exorbitant, in their Gifts profuſe, in their Expences luxurious, being grown ſo habituated to invade the Rights of others, that they ſtuck neither at Perjury nor Sa-

crileg

rilege. Nor was the Camp leſs corrupt than the Court, where the Soldier exercis'd himſelf daily in morous Airs, ſlept on his Field Bed, and eat in late, and having enrich'd himſelf by his ambitious Courſes, grew vainly fond of Jewels, the intrinck Value of which he pretended perfectly to underſtand, unlike the Ignorance of thoſe who liv'd ut in the Age before him; for it was reported of common Soldier in the Reign of *Maximian*, hat at the Plunder of the King of *Perſia*'s Camp aving found a Purſe of Precious Stones, and being ken with the Fineneſs of it, he threw away the ewels as things of no value, and went away highly tisfy'd with his good Fortune. Theſe Corruptins and Diſorders *Julian* took great Care to reform, ther becauſe they call'd aloud for ſuch a Reformation, or to caſt an *Odium* upon his Predeceſſor, nder whoſe Reign they had gain'd ſo much Ground. e throughly purg'd the Court of all that were noxious in it, and made ſuch Regulations in his amp as he judg'd convenient.

He had in his Infancy been inſtructed in the hriſtian Religion, of which, for the moſt part, made an outward Profeſſion, 'till by the Death *Conſtantius* his Fears were remov'd, and he und himſelf at Liberty to act as he pleas'd; at hich time he commanded all the Temples to be en'd, ſuch as had been demoliſh'd to be rebuilt, vanc'd the Heathen Prieſts to their ancient Prieges and Immunities, order'd Sacrifices to be fer'd as formerly, and the Worſhip of the Pagan eities to be reſtor'd. At the ſame time he re-ll'd all the Chriſtian Biſhops, whether Orthodox Hereticks, that had been baniſh'd by *Conſtan-s*; and having ſent for 'em to Court, he adviſ'd n to lay all Diſſentions aſide, and gave 'em free berty to live and believe every one as he thought fit,

Opens the Heathen Temples,

and deals craftily with the Chriſtians,

fit, intending by that Liberty to ſow greater Diſ-
ſentions among them, and ſo prevent the Danger
he apprehended if once they came to be united; for
he knew by Experience, ſaith *Ammianus*, that wild
Beaſts are not ſo enrag'd againſt Men, as Chriſtians
diſſenting upon Points of Faith are enrag'd againſt
each other. Being himſelf bred a Scholar, he ever
had a great Eſteem for Learned Men, with whom
he familiarly convers'd, particularly *Oribaſius* *The-
miſtius*, and *Libanius* the Sophiſt, who had been his
Tutor, and inſtill'd into him an Abhorrence to the
Chriſtian Religion, which after he came to be
Emperor he had a great Deſire to extirminate; but
obſerving that Perſecution was ſo far from dimi-
niſhing, that it rather increas'd the number of its
Profeſſors, who glory'd in that they were thought
worthy to ſuffer for the Name of Chriſt, he
therefore ſought another way to ruin them. He
try'd by gentle Perſuaſions and glorious Promiſes
to induce 'em to an Abjuration. He depriv'd all
ſuch as ſtood firm to the Faith of all their Offices
and Employments, whether Civil or Military. He
prohibited Chriſtians from keeping any Publick
Schools, or teaching the Sciences, unleſs they would
firſt turn Heathens. And whereas 'twas Cuſtoma-
ry for the Emperors to preſent the Soldiers with a
Donative upon the firſt Day of the Year, upon
their Birth-days, or the like; *Julian* order'd, that
whoever came into his Preſence for that purpoſe
ſhould firſt, according to an ancient *Roman* Cu-
ſtom, offer Incenſe upon an Altar adorn'd with the
Images of the Gods intermix'd with ſeveral of his
own. Several Chriſtian Soldiers being better in-
ſtructed, and more zealous than the reſt, choſe rat-
ther to loſe the Preſent than pollute themſelves with
Idolatry: Some ignorant of what they were doing,
and others either through Avarice or Fear, did

he reſt of their Comerades that were Heathen. But ſome time after, when divers of 'em, who invok'd the Name of Jeſus before they ſate down to Meat, were ask'd how they came to call upon him, whom they had deny'd, having offer'd Incenſe in Honour to his ſworn Enemy; they, ſenſible of their Error, publickly proteſted to the whole World that they were Chriſtians, and were reſolv'd to live and die in the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt; that they had err'd through Ignorance, and that their Conſciences had no ſhare in the Crime of which their Hands were guilty. After this they went to the Emperor, and return'd him his Donative, declaring they repented from their Souls the abominable Sin they had committed, to expiate which they were ready to ſuffer Death for the Name of Jeſus Chriſt. *Theodoret* adds, that *Julian* was ſo enrag'd at this generous Action, that he commanded all their Heads to be chopp'd off; and that when they were brought to the Place of Execution, the eldeſt among 'em deſir'd the Executioner to begin with the youngeſt, who was call'd *Romanus*, leſt ſeeing ſo many of his Companions Executed before him, he ſhould, thro' the Weakneſs of his Youth, loſe his Courage, and elapſe; and that whilſt he was calling on the Name of God upon his Knees, in expectation of the fatal Stroke, an Order came from the Emperor to ſtop the Execution, and they were all baniſh'd to the remoteſt Parts of the Empire.

Whilſt he continu'd at *Conſtantinople* he was courted by Ambaſſadors from all Nations, among whom he was renowned for his Fortitude, Sobriety, Military Skill, and other eminent Virtues. With theſe and his other Felicities he was much elevated, forming to himſelf Deſigns and Fancies that exceeded the Bounds of Human Nature. His Thoughts ran much upon the *Perſian* War, which he

he was reſolv'd to carry on with the greateſt Vi-
gour. Before he enter'd upon it he conſulted th
Heathen Oracles, who all promis'd him glorio
Succeſs; but none encourag'd him to this Expedi-
tion ſo much as *Maximus* the Philoſopher and Ma-
gician, who promis'd him no leſs a Victory than th
which *Alexander* obtain'd over the *Perſians*, perſu-
ding him, according to the Doctrine of *Pythagor*
that the Soul of that renown'd Conqueror was tran
migrated into him. The groſs Aſſurances and Fla
teries of his Prieſts and Magicians had made hi
ſo ſecure and preſumptuous, that he rejected the A
ſiſtance his Allies offer'd him by their Ambaſſa
dors at *Antioch*, telling 'em it became the Grea
neſs of the *Roman* Empire to ſuccour and ſuppo
his Friends, and not truſt to the Aſſiſtance
Strangers.

A. D. 362. *He beautifies* Conſtantinople.

Before he left *Conſtantinople* he much impro
and enlarg'd it, by the Addition of many beauti
Buildings; for being the Place of his Nativity, h
always expreſs'd a great Affection for that Ci
He order'd a very convenient Harbour to be bu
in the Shape of a *Greek Sigma*, where thoſe Shi
that traded thither from the South might ride
great Safety; and in the Gallery of his own Pala
he furniſh'd a Library with the choiceſt and mo
valuable Books he could procure, after which h
remov'd Eaſtward in his Progreſs to *Antioch*.

Begins his Expedition.

XIII. Having croſs'd over into *Aſia*, he paſ
through *Chalcedon* and *Libyſſa*, (where *Hannibal* w
bury'd) and thence came to *Nicomedia*, a Ci
which the Care and Indulgence of former Princ
had ſo much enlarg'd and beautify'd, and which
Earthquake had now reduc'd to ſo miſerable a Co
dition, that *Julian* could not behold it witho
Tears, having himſelf reſided here in his Youth u
de

er the Care of *Euſebius* the Biſhop, the great Pa-
ron of *Arianiſm*. After he had given Orders for
he Repair of the Place he proceeded in his Jour-
ey, and arriv'd at *Antioch* about the latter End of *He arrives at* Antioch.
uly. As he approach'd the City, that beautiful
Head of the Eaſt, he was met and receiv'd like ſome
Deity, the People following him with their Vows
nd Acclamations, and gazing on him as on ſome
ropitious Star newly riſen in their Hemiſphere,
hich high Opinion of him he improv'd at his firſt
oming by ſeveral Examples of his great Patience
nd Humility. There was one *Thalaſſius*, who had *An Inſtance of Juſtice.*
een a bitter Enemy to his Brother *Gallus*, and
was therefore in no degree of Favour with him.
his ſome Perſons, with whom *Thalaſſius* was then
t Law, having obſerv'd, came in a great Body and
ccus'd him to the Emperor, complaining that *Tha-
aſſius*, who had the Inſolence to be at Enmity with
im, had by Violence depriv'd 'em of their juſt
Rights. *Julian*, ſenſible that this was done de-
ignedly to ruin the Man, anſwer'd, That the Per-
on of whom they complain'd, had, he confeſs'd,
ighly offended him, and that therefore they ought
n good Manners to ſuſpend their Claim 'till he
had given him, who was ſo much their Superior,
ſuitable Satisfaction; and at the ſame time com-
manded the Præfect, aſſiſting him as the Cuſtom
was upon the Bench, not to hear their Cauſe 'till
he was reconcil'd to *Thalaſſius*, which was done a
hort time after; for *Thalaſſius* renouncing the Chri-
ſtian Religion, and embracing that which was then
moſt in Faſhion, recover'd the Emperor's Favour,
and was afterwards very intimate with him.

Julian winter'd, according to his firſt Intenti-
ons, at *Antioch*; where, averſe to thoſe Pleaſures with
which *Syria* too much abounded, he ſpent his Time
in hearing and determining Cauſes, with exquiſite
Care

Care and Dexterity adjudging to every one h Due. And tho' ſometimes, as our Hiſtorian co feſſes, he would ask improper and unſeaſonable Qu ſtions in a Debate, as what Religion this or th Party then at Law profeſs'd; yet no Reſpect Religion, or any thing elſe, made him deviate fro Juſtice, or inclin'd him to a partial Determinatio for being ſenſible of the Levity and Heat of h Temper, he permitted the Præfects and thoſe abo him by ſeaſonable Hints to reſtrain his Impetuo ty, being pleas'd to be corrected by 'em, and ſham'd of his Faults when they had made him ſe ſible of them.

Quarrels with the Inhabitants at Antioch.

Theſe things highly ingratiated him with the I habitants, but the good Underſtanding between 'e was of no long continuance; for whilſt he lay *Antioch*, and obſerv'd the Multitudes of People th flock'd thither upon his own Account, and that his Attendants, he concluded ſo great a Concour muſt in a ſhort time create a Dearneſs of Provi ons, which out of a Humour of Affection and Po pularity he had a great Ambition to prevent, b endeavouring to make things cheaper than they cou well bear to be, which being forc'd in an inconv nient way ſerves rather to create a Scarcity tha prevent it; this the Corporation of *Antioch* repre ſented to him, yet was he obſtinate to ſee it accom pliſh'd; for the Merchants, who found themſelve oblig'd to Trade to their own Loſs, choſe rather t ſhut up their Ware-houſes than expoſe their Goods from whence enſu'd a great want of Neceſſarie throughout the City, which highly provok'd th Inhabitants againſt him, and expos'd him to thei ſevereſt Reflections. They call'd him *Victimarius* by reaſon of his multitude of Sacrifices, to which he was ſo extravagantly addicted; *Cercops* or Dwarf and Goats-Beard, becauſe he took great Delight i

long picked Beard; at which he was ſo highly in-
ns'd that he writ an Invective againſt 'em, which
call'd the *Antiochian* or *Beard-Hater*, in which
expos'd, with a deal of Virulence, the Vices and
efects of the Citizens, mixing with the Truth
any things that were Foreign to it.

During his Stay at *Antioch*, *Gaudentius*, who had
en ſent by *Conſtantius* into *Africk* to ſecure that
ountry to him, and *Julian*, another of *Conſtanti-*
's Favourites, were apprehended and put to Death;
was likewiſe *Artemius* Governor of *Egypt*, upon
e importunate Application of the Citizens of *A-*
xandria, who accus'd him of many enormous
rimes, if *Ammianus* may be credited; for ſeve-
l Chriſtian Writers affirm he dy'd a Martyr, that
loſt his Head by *Julian*'s Order, becauſe during
nſtantius his Reign he had deſtroy'd many of the
eathen Idols in *Egypt*. About the ſame time
eorge, who had thruſt himſelf into the Biſhoprick
Alexandria when St. *Athanaſius* was expell'd,
as kill'd by the Multitude. He was a great Cham-
ion for the *Arians*, who charg'd *Athanaſius* his
ollowers with his Death, and plac'd him in their
alender as a Martyr, from whence he crept inſen-
bly into the *Latin* Church, by whom he is e-
eem'd as a Saint and Martyr, challenging the twen-
third of *April* for his Feſtival. His Legend is
uff'd with many ridiculous Abſurdities, among
hich his fighting the Dragon on Horſeback is not
e leaſt remarkable. If the Account the Authors
thoſe Times, both Chriſtian and Heathen, have
ft us of him be true, we have little reaſon to take
im either for a Saint or Martyr.

George, *the* Arian *Biſhop.*

All this while *Julian* was very intent upon the
Var; he conſider'd how the *Perſians* had for the
ſt ſixty Years miſerably harraſs'd the Eaſtern Provin-
es, and overthrown ſeveral Armies that were ſent to
reſtrain

reſtrain 'em; this kindled in him a Deſire of Re-
venge, which together with an Ambition of gracing
his former Exploits with the glorious Sirname of
Parthicus, made him very zealous in his Prepara-
tions, but he was in nothing ſo aſſiduous as his Sa-
crifices, compaſſing Sea and Land for Victims which
bled upon the Altars. Sometimes he would offer
an hundred Bulls at a time, innumerable Droves of
other Beaſts, and white Birds procur'd at a vaſt
Expence; ſo that almoſt every Soldier, and that al-
moſt every Day, was led or born home to his
Quarters drunk and ſurfeited from the Temple
wherein they feaſted, and that contrary to the Di-
ſcipline he is ſaid to have eſtabliſh'd ſo carefully in
the Army. And as his Superſtition encreas'd, ſo
was there no end of Rites and Ceremonies in his
Religion, which introduc'd an Expence that ſwell'd
up to Sums vaſt and unuſual. Whoſoever pre-
tended to the Art of Divination, which in his Pre-
deceſſor's Days was eſteem'd a Capital Crime, was
receiv'd with all imaginable Encouragement; and
ſo far was he addicted to Practices of this Nature,
that he reſolv'd to open the *Caſtilian* Fountain, con-
ſecrated heretofore to *Apollo*, in whoſe Name the
Devil iſſu'd out his Famous Oracles. This Foun-
tain had been long ſince choak'd up by *Adrian*,
who being here foretold that he ſhould one Day
be Emperor, was unwilling any hereafter ſhould
meet with the ſame Encouragement. But whilſt
the Emperor was amuſing himſelf with theſe Su-
perſtitious Vanities an Accident happen'd, from
which he receiv'd no ſmall Diſturbance. On the
twenty ſecond of *October* the ſpacious Temple of
Apollo at *Daphne*, the Suburb of *Antioch*, built by
Antiochus Epiphanes, took Fire, and was ſuddenly
burnt to the Ground; this the Emperor charg'd
upon the Chriſtians, and commanded the great
Church

The Temple of Apollo *burnt.*

hurch at *Antioch* to be ſhut up; tho' *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives another Account of it.

However this aggravated the great Averſion he d to the Chriſtians, and made him more deſirous ſuppreſs 'em. He knew Chriſtianity was ſuppod to ſucceed, and to be founded upon the Ruins Judaiſm, and he thought if he could once reſtore e old Ceremonies and Sacrifices of that Religion, ſhould raiſe a great Argument againſt the Truth d Progreſs of the former; the readieſt way to hich was to re-build the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, hich had been long ſince deſtroy'd by *Titus Veaſian*: And therefore he was reſolv'd to effect it, ow great ſoever the Expence ſhould be, and comitted the Care of it to *Alypius* an *Antiochian*, who d formerly commanded here in *Britain*; at the me time he encourag'd the *Jews* to be aſſiſting to good a Work, deſiring 'em to pray the Soveraign the Univerſe to proſper him in his Expedition gainſt the *Perſians*, releas'd 'em from ſeveral Impoions with which they had been charg'd, and proiſ'd 'em all the Happineſs they could expect under is Adminiſtration. *Alypius* apply'd himſelf diligent- to the Work, and was aſſiſted in it by the Goernor of the Province; but on a ſudden dreadful alls of Fire broke out from the Ground, where e Foundations were laid, and conſuming the Works made the Place inacceſſible.

Julian *endeavours to re-build the Temple at* Jeruſalem,

from which he is diverted by a Prodigy.

Ammian. Marcel.

The ſame Year there happen'd an Earthquake at *Jeruſalem*, which ras'd the Foundations of the forer Temple, and over-turn'd ſeveral publick Buildngs, under which a great multitude of *Jews* lay ury'd; and another at *Conſtantinople*, which tho' ot ſo violent, endanger'd a great Part of the City. Theſe Accidents, with ſeveral other unlucky Omens, he term'd 'em, ſtrangely terrify'd the ſuperſtitious Emperor. *Felix* and *Julian*, two Officers of great Autho-

A. D. 363.

Authority, dy'd much about the ſame time; and the People, who uſually ſaluted him with the Title of *Julianus Felix Auguſtus*, look'd on it as ominous, that he who was *Auguſtus* ſhould be nam'd in company with *Felix* and *Julian*, who were both dead. When he departed from *Antioch* a confus'd Multitude of the Citizens attended him out of the City, wiſhing him a ſucceſsful Journey, and a triumphant Return, and pray'd him for the future to be more mild and gracious to them: But he, ſtill nettled at their bitter and undutiful Reflections, told 'em in great Anger, he would never viſit them again, but winter at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*; which he accordingly did, for he was privately bury'd in the Suburbs of that City. As he enter'd into *Hierapolis* on the fifth of *March*, fifty Soldiers were kill'd by a Fall of ſome Buildings, and a great many more hurt. Having paſs'd the *Euphrates* by a Bridge of Boats he came to *Batnæ* a Town of *Oſdruena*, where fifty Soldiers more were overwhelm'd with a Stack of Straw. From *Batnæ* he proceeded to *Carhæ*, an ancient Town and a Frontier toward *Aſſyria*, famous for the Death of *Craſſus*, and the Overthrow of the *Roman* Army. Here he reſted a while to furniſh his Army with Proviſions, and Sacrific'd to the Moon, the great Goddeſs of the Country; at whoſe Altar he is ſaid ſecretly to have deliver'd his Purple Military Coat to his Kinſman *Procopius*, bidding him reſolutely to ſeize on the Empire upon the firſt Intelligence of his Miſcarriage in *Parthia*. The late unlucky Omens had made him irreſolute and uneaſie, ſo that being troubled with ill Dreams he foreboded ſome Miſchief at hand, and both he and his Wizards declar'd that they muſt expect ſome ſignal Diſaſter the Day following, being the 19th of *March*, which brought nothing extraordinary with it, notwithſtanding their Predictions; tho' it appear'd afterwards that the Temple of *Apollo Palatinus*

His Progreſs.

inus was burnt the very ſame Night at *Rome*. hilſt he was here employ'd in diſpoſing the March his Army, he was inform'd that a Party of the emies Horſe had broken into the Empire, and re return'd with a conſiderable Booty. Provok'd his, he put a Deſign he had before laid in executi- and committed a Party of thirty thouſand Men to *copius* and *Sebaſtian*, who had been Commander *Egypt*, ordering 'em to keep a ſtrict Watch within *ris*, the better to prevent any ſudden Accident, when they had join'd *Arſaces*, which they were attempt, he commanded 'em to waſte *Chiliocomus*, t fruitful Tract of *Media*, and meet him if poſ- e in *Aſſyria*. After this he began his March, and v'd the ſecond Day at *Calliniſus*, where he cele- ted the Feaſt of the Mother of the Gods. The y following he directed his March by the River e, where he was met by his Fleet, under the nduct of *Conſtantianus* and *Lucillianus*. It con- ed of a thouſand Veſſels of Burden, laden with viſions, Arms and Engines, beſides fifty Men of ar, and as many deſign'd upon occaſion to make dges for the Army. From hence he proceeded *Circuſium*, which he enter'd about the Beginning *April*. It was then a very ſtrong and neat Town, tify'd heretofore by *Dioclesian*, the better to re- in the *Perſians*, who by their frequent Incurſions o *Syria* did great Miſchief to the Provinces. Here ilſt *Julian* was buſied in paſſing his Army over River *Avora*, which with the *Euphrates* incir- d the Town in the manner of an Iſland, he re- v'd Letters from *Salluſt*, Præfect of *Gaul*, earneſt- preſſing him *to deſiſt for the preſent from his in- ded Expedition and not thruſt himſelf upon in- table Deſtruction before the Divine Powers were y pacify'd.* But he, in contempt of this whole- e Admonition, preſs'd on with greater Confi-

dence;

dence; and having paſs'd his Army over, caus'd t
Bridge to be broken down, to cut off from his M
all Hopes of a Retreat. At *Dura* a Lion of v
Bigneſs preſented it ſelf to the Army, who with
ſhower of Darts diſpatch'd it in a moment. Th
Spectacle rais'd his Hopes and redoubled his Courag
but upon what inſufficient Ground the Event w
demonſtrate. His Philoſophers perſuaded him 'tw
a lucky Omen, but the *Hetruſcan Aruſpices*, wh
were the better Artiſts, prov'd from their Books t
contrary. The Day following a Soldier nam'd J
vian was ſtruck dead by a Flaſh of Lightning, whic
confirm'd the *Hetruſcans* in their former Opinio
and made 'em adviſe him to quit the Country
dangerous and fatal, which the Philoſophers oppo
with Arguments more agreeable to *Julian*'s Tempe
who in a chearful Speech addreſs'd himſelf to th
Army, telling 'em *what mighty Actions had be
perform'd by former Commanders as well againſt t*
Perſians *as others, animated to it by their Affecti
to their Country, and aſſiſted by the Love and Re
lution of their Soldiers; that he was reſolv'd to im
tate ſuch generous Examples, if they were willing
join with him in ſo glorious an Undertaking, wher
in he had the Advantage of Juſtice on his Side,
revenge of thoſe many Injuries the* Roman *Provinc
had of late Years receiv'd from 'em.* The Soldie
animated with this Diſcourſe reſolv'd to obey hi
chearfully, and appear worthy ſo Noble a Comma
der; who thereupon immediately enters the *Aſſyr
an* Borders, where fearing an Ambuſcade he pr
dently divided his Army into four Bodies, appoin
ing fifteen hundred as a Forlorn, who marching ſom
times before, ſometimes on each ſide, were to pr
vent any ſudden Irruption from the Enemy, a
give warning upon all Occaſions. In the middle h
plac'd the Foot, conſiſting of the main Strength

His Order of Marching.

is Army, which he led himſelf; on the Right he rder'd ſeveral Legions, under the Conduct of *Nevi-a*, to coaſt along the River *Euphrates*, and the Left Ving with ſome Troops of Horſe he committed to *rintheus*, and *Horſmiſda* a *Perſian*, who having been pjur'd by the King his Brother, fled for Refuge to *onſtantine* the Great, and after ſeveral Proofs of is great Fidelity was preferr'd to conſiderable Com-ands. They were to march through the Plains d Marſhes, whilſt *Dagalaiphus*, *Victor* and *Secun-inus* brought up the Rear. And to ſtrike a greater error into the Enemy, if they dar'd aſſault him, view him at a Diſtance upon his March, he en-rg'd his Ranks, by which means the Front was al-oſt ten miles diſtant from the Rear, which made s Army appear much more numerous than it was. s for the Fleet, he order'd it to attend the Army near as poſſibly it could, that upon Occaſion they ight afford each other a mutual Aſſiſtance.

In this manner they march'd to a Fort call'd *A-than*, which ſurrender'd upon the firſt Summons, d was burnt by the Emperor's Order. Here they und a *Roman* Soldier, who when *Maximian* made ruptions into theſe Parts, had been left behind ſe-ſick: Upon his Recovery, being then in the ower of his Age, he was marry'd to ſeveral Wives, cording to the Cuſtom of the Country, and was w grown extream old, and the Father of a nu-rous Iſſue. He with great Joy was brought to Emperor, before whom he affirm'd that he knew d had formerly been foretold, that he ſhould live l he was near an hundred Years of Age, and be y'd at length in the *Roman* Territories; which s confirm'd by the Teſtimony of ſeveral of his quaintance. The Day following the Army ſuf-d much by the Violence of a tempeſtuous Wind, ikewiſe by the breaking out of the River, which

whether it proceeded from a natural Cauſe, or was the Effect of ſome Stratagem in the Enemy, is uncertain. From hence they march'd without meeting any Oppoſition to a Town call'd *Ozogardana*, which they took, the Inhabitants having abandon'd it upon the Approach of the Army. From hence *Horſmiſda* was ſent out to make Diſcoveries, and had like to have fallen into the Enemies Hands, who lay ready to inſnare him; but the River ſwelling higher than uſual hinder'd their Paſſage, and being diſcover'd by a Party of *Roman* Soldiers they were forc'd to retire with ſome Loſs. The firſt Difficulty of any moment they met with was at *Piriſabora*, a Town ſtrongly fortify'd by Art and Nature, and no leſs ſecur'd by the Reſolution of the Inhabitants, who gave Ear to no Treaties 'till they had try'd their utmoſt in a very vigorous Defence, and found it impoſſible to maintain the Place. The taking this City, being the greateſt next to *Cteſiphon* in all *Aſſyria*, brought great Reputation to the Emperor's Arms, beſides the great quantity of Proviſions and Ammunition that were found in it prov'd very ſeaſonable to the Army, who began to ſtand in need of both.

After he had ſet Fire to the Town, and in a form'd Speech pacify'd the Army, that began to grow mutinous, he proceeded forward, and after a March of fourteen Miles came to a low Ground, which the Enemy, who had notice they would paſs that way, laid under Water, and thereby expos'd 'em to many Difficulties. But at length they arriv'd at *Mazamalcha*, a large and well fortify'd Town, before which he encamp'd in order to beſiege it. He drew a double Line round it, and with his battering Engines broke down a Tower, and part of the Wall. Notwithſtanding which the Beſieg'd defended themſelves with great Gallantry, truſting much to the natural

tural Strength of the Place, 'till at length the Sol-
ers by means of a Mine got into the City, and
t all they found to the Sword, except the Gover-
r and ſome few of the principal Officers. The
ty was given up to the Soldiers, who firſt plun-
r'd and then burnt it.

After this they paſs'd further, and arriv'd at two
rts, where *Victor*, who conducted the Forlorn,
s oppos'd by the King of *Perſia*'s Son, who at the
ead of a ſtrong Detachment, and attended by ſe-
ral Noblemen of the Country, diſputed his Paſ-
e over the River; but when they ſaw the whole
dy of the Army advancing they retir'd, and left
Romans Maſters of a pleaſant Country full of de-
htful Groves, and enrich'd with all ſorts of Fruits.
oceeding a little farther, the *Romans* loſt Part of
ir Baggage and Carriages: For whilſt the Front
the Army was diverted by a Party of *Perſians*,
o were ſent on purpoſe to amuſe them, another
ty fell in upon the Rear, and ſurpriz'd 'em. *Ju-*
enrag'd at this drew on towards *Cteſiphon*, and
he was viewing a Fort which lay in his Paſſage
ther, he rid too near the Walls, and they ply'd
n ſo warmly with their Darts from above, that
was carry'd off with great Hazard of his Life.
was reſolv'd to be reveng'd for this Inſolence
atever it coſt him, and for that Purpoſe laid cloſe
ge to the Place, which they within defended with
at Vigour, encourag'd by Promiſes of a ſpeedy
cour from the King, who lay with his Army
far off from them. But he thruſting himſelf
ward into all Difficulties, and fighting in Perſon
he Head of his Men, who were encourag'd by
Example, and influenc'd by his Preſence and
ſervation, obtain'd his Deſire, and having burnt
Fort, allow'd his Army ſome time to refreſh
mſelves. After which, through a Cut cleans'd

Julian *in great Danger.*

for that Purpoſe, he paſs'd his Fleet out of *Euphrates* into *Tigris*.

He grows obſtinate:

Hitherto Fortune for the moſt part ſeem'd to court and encourage him, but his Succeſs made him raſh and inconſiderate, and rais'd him in Imagination on above all Difficulties, to which he frequently expos'd himſelf and his Army, contrary to the repeated Advice and Petitions of his moſt experienc'd Officers. He totally gave himſelf up to the Direction of his own Fancies and improbable Chimæra's, ſuggeſted to him by his vaſt Ambition, which aim'd at nothing leſs than the entire Conqueſt of all *Perſia*. And tho' at a Council of War held near *Cteſiphon* he was adviſ'd to the contrary, he obſtinately perſiſted in his Reſolution of proceeding farther up into the Country, induc'd to it by the Encouragement of ſome Guides, who undertook to conduct him. And leſt the Enemy ſhould become Maſters of his Fleet, or elſe for that no leſs than twenty thouſand Men were conſtantly employ'd to man and govern it, he order'd

And burns his Fleet.

all his Ships to be ſet on Fire, except twelve ſmall Rates, which were to be taken in pieces, and convey'd over Land in Waggons, to build Bridges with if there ſhould be occaſion. This was put in execution accordingly, notwithſtanding all the Arguments his Friends offer'd to oppoſe it, to which he was deaf 'till it was too late, and his Guides were forc'd by Torture to confeſs that they had offer'd him their Service with no other Deſign but to ruin him.

This unlucky Proceeding reduc'd the Army to the laſt Extremity, for now they had loſt all Means of a Retreat, and were cut off from all Opportunities of a Supply either of Men or Proviſions: And the *Perſians*, perceiving the Diſadvantages under which they labour'd, laid all the Country waſte before 'em, and inſulted 'em ſometimes in the Front, ſometi

the Flank, and at others in the Rear, and in a manner beſieg'd 'em. This extreamly diſpirited the *Roman* Army, which was very much weaken'd thro' the Inconveniencies of the Country, and the Hardſhips to which they were expos'd; nor knew they what Courſe they were beſt to take in a ſtrange Country, depriv'd of all manner of Proviſions. After many Conſultations they reſolv'd at length to march towards *Corduena*, and on the 16th of *June* they ſet forward accordingly.

He engages with the Perſians, whom he defeats.

They had not march'd far before they were met by a ſtrong Body of *Perſians*, well provided in every reſpect, and commanded by *Merenes*, General of the Horſe, accompany'd by two of the King's Sons, and a great number of the Nobility; here an obſtinate Fight began, which laſted for a conſiderable time, 'till the *Perſians*, over-power'd by the *Roman* Legions, gave Ground, and retir'd in the moſt orderly manner they could. The *Romans* remain'd Maſters of the Field, but found little Satisfaction in Victory, which could not relieve their Wants in a Place where no Proviſions were to be had, the Corn and Graſs, and every thing elſe, proper for the Nouriſhment of Man or Horſe, being burnt up by the Enemy.

Both Sides had agreed to a Truce for three Days, which time was employ'd in burying the Dead, and refreſhing their Bodies tir'd with exceſſive Heat and the Fatigues of the Battel. *Julian* all this while labour'd under great Perplexities, for he found the *Perſians* reſolv'd to oppoſe his March, and attempt by all manner of ways to diſtreſs him, without coming to a formal Engagement. The Night before his Death, after a ſhort and troubleſome Sleep, he roſe, as his Cuſtom was, to Read or Write, and in the Head of the Night he beheld the Publick Genius, which is ſaid to have appear'd to him once before

upon his being declar'd Emperor in *Gaul*, to mo
in a melancholy dejected Poſture before him, a
with a Countenance full of Sorrow forſake hi
This ſudden unexpected Accident ſurpriz'd hi
for the preſent, but being above the Weakneſs
Fear, he reſign'd all, ſaith my Author, to the D
termination of Providence; and riſing early to
Devotions, he ſaw an Exhalation ſhooting throu
the Skies, which having travers'd a good part of t
Air, vaniſh'd in a Moment. This he violently
ſpected to be the Star of *Mars*, who not long ſi
had rejected his many Sacrifices, and was now co
in a menacing manner to tell him how little
was to expect from him. Hereupon he conſul
his *Hetrurian Augurs*, who told him he was
that Omen adviſ'd to abſtain from fighting;
when they perceiv'd that in ſpight of this their In
pretation he was reſolv'd to proceed, they intrea
him to defer his March but for a few Hours,
which he gave ſo little heed, that as ſoon as it
Light he order'd his Army to decamp. The P
ſians, who made the beſt of every Advanta
ſometimes aſſaulted him upon the Flank, and ſo
times fell in upon the Rear, which occaſion'd
veral Encounters between 'em, in all which
Emperor behav'd himſelf with an unexampled
very; but at length being too eager in Purſuit
the *Perſians*, who now began to give Ground
He is wounded. Horſe-man's Javelin pierc'd through his Arm i
his Side, from whence, or by whom directed,
one knew, with the Pain of which he ſunk do
upon the Neck of his Horſe, and was with
ſpeed convey'd into his Tent; where obſerv
thoſe about him to be dejected and ſorrowful,
told 'em, *He was now call'd upon to pay the*
of Nature, which he did with a willing and c
ful Mind, being taught by Philoſophy how
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Chap.
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happier the State of the Soul is than that of the Body, upon which Conſideration he embrac'd Death as the greateſt Bleſſing, which exempted him from thoſe Dangers to which the Neceſſity of his Affairs muſt daily expoſe him, to the great Hazard of his Virtue and Reputation. That *having liv'd at firſt in a private, and afterwards in an exalted State, he had ſo behav'd himſelf in both as to repent of no Action throughout his whole Life.* That *he had great Reaſon to thank Divine Providence, for that he fell not by the Hand of Conſpirators, nor languiſh'd under a Diſeaſe, or ſuffer'd Death as a Criminal, but that he made a glorious Paſſage out of the World with his Honours freſh and blooming about him.* That *he who is fond of Life when he ought to Die, is as great a Coward, as he who deſires Death when he ought to Live.* That *he declin'd naming a Succeſſor, leſt through Ignorance he ſhould paſs by a worthy Perſon, or in naming one fitly qualify'd he ſhould expoſe him to Danger upon the Preference of another after his Death, but, like a dutiful Son to the Common-wealth, he wiſh'd her a worthy Governor to ſucceed him.*

After this, and a ſhort Diſcourſe with the Philoſophers, *Maximus* and *Priſcus*, concerning the Sublimity of the Soul, the Wound began to gape, and the Tumour of the Veſſel intercepted his Breath; then calling for a Glaſs of cold Water, which he drank up, he expir'd about Midnight. *Theodoret*, and moſt Chriſtian Writers who have written of him, ſay, when firſt he was wounded he fill'd his Hand with Blood iſſuing from the Wound, and threw it up into the Air with this dreadful Blaſphemy, *Thou haſt Conquer'd, O Galilean*; tho' others maintain it was the Sun againſt which he thus threw up his Blood, becauſe he was God of the Per-

He dies of his Wound.

Perſians, and was then come to their Succour again him; and being, according to the Aſtrologers, Lo of his Aſcendant when he was Born, he had n taken due care to protect him. Some time befo his Death, *Libanius*, the Sophiſt, is ſaid to ha ask'd a Chriſtian School-maſter at *Antioch*, by w of Deriſion, *What he thought the Carpenter's Son w then a doing?* To whom he reply'd, *Know th Wretch, that that God who made both Heaven a Earth, and whom in Contempt thou call'ſt the C penter's Son, is preparing a Coffin for thy Diſci* Julian.

His Character. As to his Character, even our Chriſtian Write who can't be expected inclinable to flatter him, ow he enrich'd the Empire with a great many exce lent Qualities; that he was Valiant, Chaſte, Pr dent, Patient of Labour, a great Lover of Learn Men, being himſelf Learn'd and Eloquent. H Exploits againſt the *Germans* were extraordina conſidering his Youth and his Education, whi had prepar'd him more to the Gown than the Swor on the other Hand his beſt Friends allow him have been Superſtitious to the higheſt Degree, h talkative and inconſiderate, that he was very muc given to Vain-glory and Oſtentation, that in ma things he was guided more by his own Humo than the Advice of his ableſt Counſellors. Th Defects grew upon him with his Years, whi Conſideration has made ſome conceive that he ow the extent of his Fame to the ſhortneſs of his Li and that had he liv'd longer, Time and Tempt tion might poſſibly have expos'd him to ſuch I firmities as would have ſully'd the Reputation quir'd in his Youth. *Julian* dy'd on the 26th *June*, in the ſecond Year of his Reign, and two a thirtieth of his Age, in his fourth Conſulate, whi he bore with *Saluſt*, *A. D.* 363.

XV. Th

XV. Thus fell *Julian* in the Flower of his Age, JOVIAN.
nd full Purſuit of his mighty Deſigns, which as
one but a Genius like his, bold and impetuous,
ould ever have ſuggeſted; ſo now there wanted
n equal Reſolution to purſue and direct 'em. In
im the *Conſtantine* Family was extinct, under whoſe
overnment the Imperial Power ſeem'd ſtill to re-
ain its native Influence and Vigour. Juſtice was
uly adminiſter'd, and the Laws of the Empire re-
ularly obſerv'd throughout the Provinces; and
ho' in thoſe Times we meet with frequent Uſur-
ations, they ſerv'd rather to awaken than impair
he Supream Authority; as all the Motions and Ir-
uptions occaſion'd by the barbarous Nations ſeem
eſign'd to make a fatal Experience of the Strength
f the Empire, rather than to inſult or weaken it.
ut after this the *Roman* Eagle, that with extended
Wings us'd to defend thoſe Nations that fled to her
or her Friendſhip and Protection, ſicken'd as with
ge, and lay expos'd to the Attempts of every Ene-
ny that dar'd Aſſault her.

The Sorrow the Army conceiv'd at *Julian*'s
Death is unexpreſſible: They were in a ſtrange
Country far from home, with a provok'd Enemy
ound about 'em, without a Head to direct, com-
nand and provide for 'em. The Common Soldi-
rs were ready to Mutiny, and the Officers at Va-
iance about a Succeſſor. At laſt they unanimouſly
itch'd upon *Salluſt* the Præfect, who being a Man
f great Worth, and long Experience in Military
ffairs, was acceptable to all Parties. But he ex-
uſing himſelf upon the Account of his Age, which
ad brought many Infirmities upon him, they were
orc'd to make a new Election; and being hurry'd
y the Diſtraction of their Affairs, and imminent
Dangers to which they were expos'd, the Choice

fell

Jovian Elected. fell upon *Jovian*, Son of *Varronian*, who from Eminent Poſt in the Army, where he had beha himſelf like a Brave Commander, was lately reti to a private Life. *Jovian* was immediately ſa ted by his Electors with the Acclamation of *Jo anus Auguſtus*, which a great part of the Army e tending four Miles in Length miſtook, and co ceiving *Julian* to be miraculouſly recover'd, out an ill-grounded Hope, join'd in the common C 'till upon Diſcovery of their Miſtake they tur their Joy into Tears and Lamentations. As ſo as *Jovian* was advanc'd to the Imperial Digni an Officer in the Army, who had ſerv'd forme under his Father, and had carry'd himſelf wi much Inſolence towards him, being afraid of h Son, who had it now in his power to revenge h Father's Quarrel, deſerted and fled over to the *Pe ſians*; and being admitted into the King's Preſenc acquainted him with the Death of *Julian*, and th the Army had in a tumultuous manner ma Choice of *Jovian*, a mean ſpirited Man, for his Su ceſſor. This News was highly acceptable to th *Perſian* King, who thereupon prepar'd his Men fall vigorouſly upon the Rear of the *Roman* A my, who, upon an Encouragement receiv'd fro the Entrails of Beaſts, were iſſuing out of the Camp, when they were attack'd by the *Perſia* with their Elephants plac'd in the Front. After reſolute Engagement on both ſides, which laſte for ſome time, the *Perſians* gave Ground, leavin two of their Elephants, and a great number of Me dead upon the Place. The *Romans* loſt three Pri cipal Officers, and ſome Soldiers, and after the had giv'n 'em as good a Burial as the Exigenc of their Affairs would allow of, they proceede to a Caſtle call'd *Suma*. Here they encamp'd th next Day, in the beſt manner they could, drawin

Line round their Camp for their better Defence; nt were however infeſted by the Enemy at a di- ance, a Party of whoſe Horſe had the Confidence break into the Camp, and had almoſt reach'd the mperor's Tent, but were at laſt repuls'd with a ery great Loſs. The Night following they diſlodg'd, nd came to *Charcha*, from whence they remov'd *Dura*, where they were forc'd to continue four ays through the Obſtinacy of the *Perſians*, who henever they were in Motion preſs'd hard upon eir Rear, but when they fac'd about to give 'em attel retreated, and by this means very much re- arded them in their March. Here they were in- rm'd by ſome, who pretended to be more know- g than the reſt, that they were not now far from e *Roman* Borders, and therefore the whole Army emanded, in a peremptory manner, that they might e permitted to paſs over the *Tigris*, which the Empe- or and the chief Officers very prudently oppos'd, aſ- uring 'em the River at that Seaſon of the Year was lways ſwoln higher than uſual, that the greateſt part f 'em were ignorant of Swimming, and that the nemy was ready on the other ſide to reward ſuch eſperate Adventures with Death. But they were mpatient of Contradiction, and inſiſted with great nſolence upon their Demands, which they mingled with Menaces, and thereby forc'd the Emperor in ome meaſure to comply. He order'd the *Germans* nd the *Gauls* to take the River firſt, hoping, if hey periſh'd in the Attempt, the reſt would learn o be more tractable, and if they got ſafe a-ſhore he whole Army might venture after 'em with more Confidence. Hereupon ſome of the greateſt Artiſts among 'em, who from their Childhood had earnt to Swim over vaſt Rivers in their own Coun- ry, were alotted out for this Expedition; they aking the Advantage of the Night reach'd the op-

A Mutiny in the Army.

poſite

poſite Shore ſooner than was imagin'd, and havi
kill'd the *Perſians* that were plac'd there for a Guar
by a Signal gave the Army notice of their Succe
who were ſo impatient to follow 'em, that th
would hardly allow time for the making a Brid
which ſome had undertaken to compoſe of Bladd
for their more convenient Tranſportation.

Whilſt the *Romans* were buſied in this extrav
gant Project, the King of *Perſia*, who during h
Abſence, and now upon his Return to his Arm
had by repeated Meſſengers been inform'd of t
deſperate Valour of the *Romans*, who inſtead of b
ing diſpirited at the Loſs of *Julian*, were grow
more hardy, by continual Labours and Dangers, a
had kill'd him a great many brave Men, and
unuſual number of Elephants, began to liſten
Thoughts of an Accommodation. He was unwi
ling to enrage 'em too much, not knowing ho
far the Thirſt of Revenge, and Fury of Deſp
might thruſt 'em. He knew freſh Supplies mig
be rais'd out of the Neighbouring Provinces, a
that an Army lay ready in *Meſopotamia* little inf
rior to this. He was ſenſible how his own M
were continually harras'd, his Country waſted, t
Strength of his Army impair'd, and his Subjects
general deſirous of a Peace. The Author of t
Alexandrine Chronicle ſaith, the firſt Overtures
Peace were made by him before he had heard
Julian's Death. Others, that he made mention
it at firſt only to try the Temper of the *Roman* A
my, and the Inclinations of their new Prince; a
when he found 'em both alike eagerly deſirous
a Peace, he prolong'd the Negotiations from tim
to time, that the *Romans* whilſt they ſtood e
pecting the Reſult of the Treaty, might ſpend t
ſmall Remainder of their Proviſions, and ſo b
forc'd through Famine to comply with his Exorb
tan

t Demands. This is not unlikely, if we conſider
e Condition the *Roman* Army was then in, and the
ticles upon which the Peace was concluded. The
mine rag'd ſo diſmally in their Camp, that they
re ready to end their Days by the Sword, rather
an wait a painful lingring Death. And *Sapor*,
o pretended he permitted the Remnant of *Julian*'s
my to retreat out of mere Pity, made a Demand
no leſs than five Provinces, together with fifteen
ſtles, beſides *Niſibis*, *Singara*, and *Caſtra Mauro-*
n, a Fort of very great Conſequence, before he
uld hearken to any Terms of Accommodation.
his the Emperor was forc'd ſhamefully to con- *A Peace*
ſcend to by a Company of Flatterers who terri- *concluded.*
d him with the Name of *Procopius*, as if he hear-
g of *Julian*'s Death would take the Advantage of
e Army under his Command, and ſet up for him-
f, unleſs *Jovian* ſpeedily return'd to prevent him.
hich indeed was no unlikely Preſumption, and was
erefore more readily liſten'd to by the Emperor,
o with great Difficulty prevail'd with the King of
rſia to permit the Inhabitants of *Niſibis* and *Singara*
be remov'd into the *Roman* Territories; and
amefully engag'd himſelf never to aſſiſt *Arſaces*
ing of *Armenia* againſt the *Perſians*, tho' *Arſaces* was
Chriſtian, and a faithful Friend to the Empire.
which means *Sapor* had his Revenge upon *Arſa-*
s, who at the Emperor's Inſtance had waſted *Chi-*
comus, for he took him Priſoner ſome time after,
d the *Parthians* ſeiz'd on the greateſt Part of *Arme-*
a bordering on the *Medes*, together with *Artaxa-*
. The Peace being concluded, Hoſtages were
xchang'd on both Sides, for Performance of Con-
tions; on the *Roman* Part, *Nevitta*, *Victor*, and
Vellobaudes; on the *Perſian*, *Bineſes*, and three other
the Principal among the Nobility.

The

The Concluſion of this Peace, which was to la
for thirty Years, was as remarkable a Paſſage as a
of thoſe Times, and occaſion'd various Reflectio
upon it, manag'd variouſly according to the diffe
rent Temper of thoſe Writers who have written
it. All allow it to have been ſhameful and ignomi
nious, foraſmuch as the *Romans*, tho' they often re
ceiv'd notable Defeats, could never be prevail'd wit
to relinquiſh any of their Territories before. Som
ſay *Jovian* ought not to have ſubmitted to it; o
thers, that he did well in accepting of it, but w
bound to obſerve it no longer than 'till he foun
himſelf in a capacity of breaking it. *Ammianus* ſait
that during the Treaty he might eaſily have march
ed into *Corduena*, a fertile Country within in his ow
Dominions, and diſtant but a hundred Miles fro
the Place where the Army lay. If they could ha
made ſo ſafe a Retreat without a Truce they woul
certainly have done it, and not have hazarded them
ſelves in that dangerous Paſſage over the River, a
Account of which we have in expreſs Words fro
him. *Julian*, who to give every one his due, ha
by his obſtinate Proceedings made the Retreat nece
ſary, is condemn'd by him and ſeveral other Autho
for burning his Ships, and thereby cutting off a
Security of a Retreat into his own Dominions; whic
would not have been, had the Retreat been now
eaſie and poſſible as he would have it. The Army
as we ſhall find hereafter, arriv'd at *Niſibis* with gre
Toil and Labour after the Concluſion of the Peace
which permitted 'em to return at their Eaſe: How
then muſt they have broke thro' thoſe Multitude
of *Perſians* which ſurrounded 'em on every ſide be
fore the Concluſion of the Treaty? And yet did the
not appear half ſo terrible as the Famine. Thei
Conſiderations ſeem to make the Truce neceſſary
which was the only Means the Emperor had le
to

reſerve the Remainder of the Army: And as he forc'd to conclude it for the Safety of his Men, as he oblig'd by his own Honour after it was cluded to obſerve it, and not have made an ig-inious Breach of Faith, and violated the Laws Nations. He was not acquainted with that im ſo prevalent in our Days with the Moſt iſtian Princes, That no Treaties, how ſolemnly er enter'd into and religiouſly ratify'd, ought to n Force, when they grow diſadvantageous in the ervance, and are a Curb to any aſpiring ambi-s Deſigns.

The Peace being confirm'd on both Sides, the *ans* paſs'd the River, and came by long Marches *Hatra*, an old Town in the Middle of the De-: Here being inform'd that they were to march Seventy Miles together through a dry barren ntry, where no Water was to be had but ſuch as ſalt or ſtunk, nor any thing to feed on but er unwholeſome Herbs, the Emperor took care rovide the Army with ſweet Water, and order'd e Camels be kill'd, to make the beſt Proviſi-hey could. Which being done, they proſecuted r Retreat, and after a tireſome dangerous March ix Days they arriv'd at *Ur*, a *Perſian* Fortreſs, re *Caſſianus* Governor of *Meſopotamia*, and *Mau-s* a Tribune, who had been ſent before for that poſe, met 'em with ſuch Proviſions as the Fru-ty of the Army commanded by *Procopius* and *ſtian* had been able to ſpare 'em. From hence Emperor diſpatch'd ſome, in whom he could moſt ſide, into the Weſt, there to improve and ſtrengthhis Intereſt the beſt they could, ſending ſecret mmiſſions by 'em, by vertue of which he remov'd e whom he had Reaſon to ſuſpect, and ſubſtitu-others in their Places, who he judg'd would be e faithful to him. He order'd theſe his Agents

to

to report every thing to the beſt Advantage, ſound how the Generality of the People appro of his Advancement, and in what degree they ſto affected to him; after which they were ſpeedily return with the beſt Intelligence they could g that the Emperor might take ſuch Meaſures in Council, as ſhould be judg'd moſt proper for Service. Tho' theſe Meſſengers ſet forward wi all Expedition, Fame had got the ſtart of 'em, had alarm'd the Provinces with a melancholy A count of the *Perſian* Affairs; eſpecially they at *ſibis* receiv'd it with the greateſt Confuſion, wh they were inform'd their City was to be ſurrende up to *Sapor*, from whom they could expect no M cy, having ſo often withſtood him with ſo muc Reſolution, and deſtroy'd ſo many of his Men.

In the mean time the Army was again in want all manner of Proviſions, which was once more ſu ply'd with the Fleſh of the Carriage-Beaſts, t only Means left to ſave that of one another, wi ſo much Fury did the Famine rage among 'em. *Thilſaphata*, *Procopius* and the general Officers of Army came to wait upon the Emperor, who recei 'em very graciouſly. From thence they march'd to *Niſibis*, in ſight of which, when they were arriv they pitch'd their Tents without the City. T Emperor, tho' earneſtly importun'd by the Inhab tants to lodge in the Palace, as his Predeceſſo uſed to do, refus'd it with great Obſtinacy, out Shame to ſuffer a City ſo ſtrong and impregnable t be deliver'd up to an enrag'd Enemy, whilſt he w reſiding in it. The next Day *Bineſes*, according his Maſter's Orders, and in purſuance of the Co dition of Peace, demanded the City to be deliver up to him, and accordingly enter'd by the Emp ror's Permiſſion, and took Poſſeſſion of it in t King of *Perſia*'s Name. He had no ſooner ſeiz'd

he Place, but by a Signal from the Caſtle he com-
anded the Citizens to quit their Habitations; who
a moſt paſſionate manner earneſtly beſought the
mperor not to be forc'd into foreign Parts, but
ave Liberty to defend the Place of their Nativity,
hich they undertook to do without putting the
ublick to any Charge in their Aſſiſtance, affirm-
g they were well acquainted with the Fatigues of
Siege, and knew how to withſtand the enrag'd
erſians. But all this was to no purpoſe, the Em-
ror inſiſting ſtill upon his Promiſe, and how per-
r'd he muſt be if he broke it.

Hereupon *Sabinus*, an eminent Man in the Town,
id boldly, *That* Conſtantius, *in the whole Courſe*
his Wars againſt the Perſians, *tho' once driven to*
ch great Straits in his Flight, as to ſatisfie his Hun-
r with a Cruſt of Bread, which he had begg'd
m an old Woman, yet to his dying Day would
t ſuffer a Foot of his Territories to be alienated;
t Jovian, *before he was ſcarce ſaluted Emperor,*
e from the Empire the very Bulwark of his Provin-
, which had hitherto been protected by the vigo-
us Oppoſition of this Town. But when all was to
purpoſe, the Emperor ſtill urging the Sanctity
his Oath, and they had preſented him with a
own, which after much Entreaty he was prevail'd
on to accept of, one *Sylvanus* an Advocate with
eat Confidence cry'd out, *So, O Emperor, may'ſt*
u be crown'd by the reſt of the Cities.

This ſo highly incens'd him, that he ſtrictly com-
anded the Town to be evacuated within three Days,
d order'd a Party of Soldiers to drive 'em out,
ho threaten'd thoſe that were the moſt unwilling
kill 'em if they loiter'd. The Sun never beheld
more melancholy Sight than was then at *Niſibis*,
ery Corner of the City was fill'd with Groans
d Lamentations, in which all Ages and Conditions

join'd; the Walls and Streets were crowded with miſerable Multitudes, that wept and exclaim'd as if they were then to be deliver'd into the Hands of Death, and were all to be Executioners to each other; the helpleſs Women embrac'd the Doors and Poſts of the Houſes at their Farewel, with as much real Paſſion, as if they were going to be torn from what was deareſt to 'em, their Husbands or their Children, who ſtood by and help'd to fill up the meaſure of Grief in which they had ſo large a ſhare; whilſt the Men, who at the Expence of their Lives had ſo often defended the Walls, and repell'd the Enemy, curs'd a Peace, that was now depriving 'em of that which their Valour had made good against the moſt violent Attacks of a bloody and obſtinate War. The Roads were fill'd with theſe deſolate Exiles, loaden with what they could moſt conveniently bear away themſelves, but being expell'd in haſte, and for want of the Convenience of Carriage they left ſeveral Things more in Quantity, and of greater Value behind 'em. The greateſt Part of 'em in this forlorn condition were conducted to *Amida*, the Suburbs of which City were given 'em by the Emperor to inhabit; the reſt were diſperſed into other Parts, where ſuch Care as the Neceſſities of the Publick Affairs would admit of, was taken for 'em.

After this *Procopius* was ſent to attend *Julian*'s Corps to *Tarſus*, in the Suburbs of which City he was bury'd, according to the Orders he had given in his Life-time. After the Funeral Ceremonies were over, *Procopius* privately withdrew from *Tarſus*, and tho' diligent Enquiry was made in all Parts for him, he never could be heard of, 'till he appear'd publickly at *Conſtantinople* a long time after, where he aſſum'd the Imperial Purple, as ſhall be ſhown in its proper Place.

Fro

From *Niſibis* the Emperor went directly to *Auti-*
b, where ſeveral Prodigies are ſaid to appear, de- Ammian.
nouncing the Wrath of Heav'n, which haſten'd *Jo-*
an's Departure from thence, ſo that he ſpar'd nei-
ther Man nor Beaſt 'till he arriv'd at *Tarſus* in *Cili-*
a; at which Place the Meſſengers he had before
ſpatch'd into the Weſt met him, and were ſome
'em ſent back with freſh Inſtructions, for the
tter Settlement of Affairs in thoſe Parts. From
rſus he proceeded on to *Ancyra*, where in as ſo-
mn a manner as the Time would permit, he enter'd
to the Conſulſhip, aſſuming for Collegue his Son A. D.
rronian, a very Infant, who by his crying and 364.
uggling, not ſuffering himſelf to be carry'd in
e Conſular Chair, as Cuſtom requir'd, ſeem'd to
rtend what happen'd in a very ſhort time after:
r proceeding on towards *Conſtantinople* he arriv'd
Badaſtana, a Town ſituate upon the Borders of
thynia and *Galatia*, where he was found dead in Jovian
e Night. His Death gave occaſion to many Con- *Dies.*
ctures; ſome ſay he was ſtifled by the Dampneſs
his Chamber, which had been newly plaſter'd;
hers, that he was choak'd by the Vapours of Char-
al plac'd there to dry the Room; and ſome im-
ted his ſudden Death to a Surfeit. *Zonaras* ſaith
was poiſon'd with Muſhrooms, and *Ammianus*
mſelf ſeems to be of Opinion, that he came to a
olent End, when he compares the Manner of his
eath to that of *Scipio Æmilianus*, who, according
Cicero, was murder'd by Night in his Bed.

He is ſaid in many things to have imitated *Con-* *His Cha-*
ntius; for he uſually diſpatch'd Buſineſs after *racter.*
inner, and lov'd to diſcourſe merrily with thoſe
out him. He was a great Friend to the Chriſtian
eligion, protecting the Chriſtians from the Ma-
e of the Heathens, and defending the Orthodox
lievers againſt the *Arian* Hereticks; tho' he often

declar'd he hated all Diſputes, and had a great E
ſteem for thoſe who promoted a Union in th
Church. He had ſo great a Veneration for *Athe-*
naſius, that he deſir'd him to ſend him a Form o
Faith, which as a Rule might preſerve him fro
falling into Error: Whereupon *Athanaſius* ſummon'
a Synod at *Alexandria*, where they unanimouſl
agreed upon a Creed, conformable to that of *Nice*
to which they all ſubſcrib'd, and tranſmitted it t
the Emperor. He was ſometimes magnificent, to
lerably well learn'd, affable and courteous. By th
few Officers he preferr'd during his ſhort Reign
we may judge how careful he would have been i
his Promotions, had he liv'd longer. The unluck
Peace he made with the *Perſians*, is the only Inſtanc
the Writers of that Age have given us of his Cow
ardice or Imprudence, in other Reſpects he behav'
himſelf like a Man of Courage and Experience. H
was a great Eater, and given much to Wine an
Women, which Faults *Ammianus* thinks the Sen
of his high Condition would in time have correcte
His Father is ſaid to have foreſeen in a Dream hi
Son's future Advancement, which he diſcover'd t
two of his intimate Friends; adding, that he him-
ſelf ſhould in time attain the Honour of the Conſu-
late. In this laſt he was deceiv'd, for he heard in-
deed of his Son's exalted Fortune, but never liv'
to ſee him afterwards, or enjoy the Honour the Em-
peror had deſign'd him, which was therefore tran
ferr'd to his Grandſon *Verronianus*, as we obſerv'
before. *Jovian* dy'd on the 17th of *February*, i
the 33d Year of his Age, after he had Reign'd ſe-
ven Months and twenty Days, *A. D.* 364.

VALENTI-NIAN. XVI. The Body of the deceas'd Emperor being
prepar'd with the accuſtom'd Rites, was in a ſolem
Manner convey'd to *Conſtantinople*, there to be In-
terr'

err'd with his Predeceſſors. His Reign had been o very ſhort, and conſequently his Subjects ſo litle acquainted either with his Virtues or Vices, hat they had no reaſon to lament much, or rejoice t his Death. The Army ſome time after diſlodg'd rom *Badaſtana*, and proceeded to *Nice*, the Metropolis of *Bithynia*, where all the Officers, both Civil and Military, enter'd into a ſerious Debate about the Election of a new Prince, ſome of 'em not deſpairing of that high Dignity themſelves. The firſt that was whiſper'd, rather than nam'd, was *Equitius* a Tribune, but he being of a ſurly ruſtick Temper was immediately rejected. Then was *Jauarius*, a Relation of *Jovian*'s, propos'd by a few, but they who diſapprov'd of the Election had a ready Reaſon for it, for he being then Commander in *Illyricum* was too far off. At length *Valentinian*, a Tribune in the Army, was by Univerſal Conſent choſen Emperor; he was at that time at *Ancyra*, where he had been left with Orders to follow *Jovian*. Immediately upon the Election Meſſengers were diſpatch'd away for him, but being at ſuch a diſtance there was at *Inter-regnum* for ten Days together. However *Equitius* and *Leo* had Orders from the reſt of the Officers to take care of his Intereſt till his Arrival, and prevent any Innovations in the Army. *Valentinian* was Born at *Cibale* in *Pannonia*; his Father was Sirnam'd *Funacius*, for that Five Soldiers together were not able to wreſt a Rope from him, which he held in his Hand. He arriv'd at *Nice* ſo ſoon as he was inform'd of his Advancement, but would not appear abroad the Day after his Arrival, becauſe it was the *Biſſextile*, a Day for the moſt part unlucky to the *Romans*, and therefore they generally declin'd entring on any great Buſineſs upon it. Towards the Evening Orders were given, by the Advice of *Salluſt* the Præfect, that

Valentinian *choſen Emperor.*

no Perſon whatſoever of the firſt Rank, or wh
was ſuſpected to aim at the Empire, ſhould
Pain of Death be ſeen abroad the next Morning
but as ſoon as it was Light the whole Army w
drawn up together, and *Valentinian* adorn'd wit
the Imperial Robes, and ſaluted *Auguſtus*, aſcend
ed the Tribunal, from whence as he was going t
addreſs himſelf in a Speech to the Army, an
ſtretch'd forth his Hand the better to gain the
Attention, the ordinary Soldiers requir'd him i
Seditious Murmurs to chuſe a Collegue. Th
at firſt was thought to have been done at the in
ſtigation of ſome who had been defeated in the
Pretenſions to the Empire; but the Noiſe conti
nuing, and the Soldiers appearing more Bold an
Violent, there was great reaſon to apprehend an U
niverſal Tumult; which *Valentinian* having greate
Motives than any elſe to fear, and if poſſible t
prevent, with Looks full of Authority he agai
extended his Hand, boldly reprov'd thoſe wh
appear'd the moſt forward and ſeditious, and the
without any Interruption deliver'd himſelf in the
Terms to the Army. *Some Days ſince it was*
your Power to chuſe whom you thought fit to
your Emperor, but ſince your Knowledge of me, a
my Method of Life has encourag'd you to rai
me up to that high Dignity, I muſt tell you, y
have paſs'd the Power out of your own Hand
nor are you to preſcribe Laws to your Soveraign
'Tis now my Buſineſs to Command, and your D
ty to Obey. I know as well as you, that t
State of Affairs, and the Condition of the Empi
requires an Aſſociate, whom, as ſoon as I find
convenient, I intend to chuſe and nominate.
the mean time you may expect to find me a te
der and careful Prince, as I ſhall expect fro
you all Offices of Submiſſion and Obedience; co
ther

His Speech to the Army.

herefore and receive the Donative, which Cuſtom nd my Love towards you has made your due.

By this reſolute Speech *Valentinian* gain'd his nds upon the whole Army, not one among 'em r'd appear ſo hardy as to oppoſe a Man who ſeem'd orn to Command; with a general Acclamation ey ſaluted him *Auguſtus*, and conducted him in oyal Pomp to the Imperial Palace, where he ſum-on'd together the general Officers, reſolving to be uided by ſuch Councils as appear'd moſt beneficial the Empire, and not to be influenc'd by ſuch as ere more agreeable to himſelf. When they were met, he ask'd 'em whom they thought fitteſt to his Aſſociate in the Empire. After a general Si-nce for ſome time, *Dagalaiphus* boldly anſwer'd, *Sir, you are partial to your own Family, you will ake Choice of your Brother; but if you have any egard to the Publick Good, you will fix on ſome o-er.* *Valentinian* was inwardly nettled at the Li-rty of his Speech, however he conceal'd his Re-ntments, and ſet out for *Nicomedia*, which he ter'd on the firſt of *March*; from thence he re-ov'd to *Conſtantinople*, where reflecting on the Weight of his Affairs, and how unable he was to ſtain ſo vaſt a Burden without an Aſſiſtant, he re-lv'd no longer to defer it; ſo on the firſt of *March*, without any Oppoſition, he declar'd his rother *Valens Auguſtus*, who was receiv'd as ſuch with an Univerſal Approbation. Some time after is both Emperors were ſeiz'd with a violent Fea-r, which according to *Ammianus* made 'em ap-rehend ſome foul Play, as if they had been be-witch'd by *Julian*'s Friends; but upon a diligent nquiry the thing came to nothing, for they could ot diſcover the leaſt Grounds for ſuch a Suſpi-on.

Makes his Brother his Aſſociate in the Empire.

They were ſcarce recover'd before the whole Empire was in a manner alarm'd with a general Invaſion from the barbarous Nations; the *Germans* were in a cruel manner waſting *Gaul* and *Rhætia*, the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi*, *Pannonia*; the *Picts*, *Scots* and *Saxons* miſerably infeſted *Britain*; the *Moors* grew more outragious in *Africk* than ever, and the *Goths* as cruelly behav'd themſelves in *Thrace*; nor could the late Peace reſtrain the King of *Perſia*, who again laid Claim to *Armenia*, pretending the Truce was made with *Jovian*, whoſe Death un-bound his Hands, and left him at Liberty to recover what he ſaid had formerly been wreſted from his Predeceſſors.

The two Emperors continu'd thirty Days at *Conſtantinople*, where they provided for the better Victualling that City and *Rome*, by regulating the Officers who had the Management of the Public Corn. From thence, when the Winter was over, they paſs'd through *Thrace* to *Naiſſus*, in the Suburbs of which, diſtant three Miles from the City, and call'd *Mediana*, being upon the Point of ſeparating they made a Partition of their Officers. *Valentinian* made Choice of *Jovinus* and *Dagalaiphus*. *Victor*, *Arintheus* and *Seronianus* were to attend *Valens* into the Eaſt, and at *Sirmium* they parted *Valentinian* for *Milan*, and *Valens* for *Conſtantinople*, upon their Arrival at which Cities they both took

A. D. 365. the Conſular Ornaments. All this Year the Empire was grievouſly burden'd and inſulted. The *German* Ambaſſadors, ſent as the Cuſtom was once a Year to Court, were roughly treated by *Urſatius* who by his Office was to receive and anſwer the Ambaſſadors, and being an obſtinate angry Man ſent them back with leſs Preſents than were uſually given; which upon their Return their Principes threw away in Indignation, and provok'd by

Uſa

Procopius *ſets up for himſelf.*

ſage of their Ambaſſadors, in great Rage took rms, and broke through the Borders. At the ne time, or not much after, *Procopius* began to up for himſelf in the Eaſt; of all which *Va-tinian* was inform'd, as he was travelling towards ris, about the beginning of *November*. *Daga-phus* was ſent with a powerful Army againſt the rmans, who after they had done what Miſchief ey could, retreated, not waiting for *Dagalaiphus* Arrival. The Rebellion of *Procopius* was of a ore difficult Nature, whom *Valentinian* was wil-g, if poſſible, to cruſh in the Beginning, but ew not whether his Brother was alive, or *Pro-ius* had aſſum'd the Imperial Title upon his eath; ſo lame was the Account *Equitius* ſent him this Matter, who had receiv'd his Information m one *Anthony*, commanding in the Mid-land *acia*. He had a Mind to march into *Illyricum* with Expedition, and prevent the Uſurper, if he had y Deſigns upon *Pannonia*; for he well remember'd th what ſpeed *Julian* over-ran all thoſe Parts, hen he had declar'd himſelf againſt *Conſtantius*, d uſurp'd the Imperial Title, and how ſerviceable s extraordinary and unexpected Diligence prov'd him: But his Friends about him diſſuaded him they could from that Reſolution; they remon-rated to him, *How by leaving the Weſt*, Gaul *uld unavoidably be expos'd to the Inroads of e Barbarians*; in this they were aſſiſted by De-ties from the Cities, who *earneſtly beſought him t to forſake 'em in ſo great an Extremity, but e the* Germans *by his Preſence, and reſtrain 'em the Terror of his Name*. Theſe Arguments ade him change his Mind, and prevail'd upon him comply with their Requeſts. He conſider'd *rocopius* was an Enemy to no more than himſelf d his Brother, whereas the *Germans* were de-

clar'd

clar'd Enemies to the whole *Roman* Empire. H reſolv'd therefore not to ſtir out of *Gaul*, but we and reſided at *Rheims*; where taking the Affairs *Africk* into Conſideration, and to prevent any ſu den Attempt that might be made upon thoſe Par he ſent away *Neotherius* and others, whoſe Care was to keep all quiet there.

In the mean time *Procopius* was very buſie *Conſtantinople*, where his Affairs ſeem'd to be in tolerable Condition. He was Born of a great F mily in *Cilicia*, where he had been educated; a being nearly related to *Julian*, he from his You met with more than common Eſteem. He was Man of few Words, for the moſt part very clo and reſerv'd; tho' he had been bred a Heathe yet in *Conſtantius* his Time he was made firſt *Notary*, after that a *Tribune* in reſpect to his Int grity, being reputed a good Moral Man. Wh *Julian* came to be Emperor he was preferr'd higher Dignities, and gave ſome, who more n rowly enquir'd into him, occaſion to think he wou be ready, if ever it came into his Power, to diſtu the Publick Peace. Being ſent to attend *Julia* Corps to *Tarſus*, as we obſerv'd before, he priva ly withdrew from thence for fear of *Jovian*, who Jealouſie he had great reaſon to ſuſpect, for that was whiſper'd abroad that *Julian* had nam'd hi for his Succeſſor at his Death; and he knew th *Jovian* had upon his Advancement put one of h own Name to Death, for no other reaſon but b cauſe a few Soldiers had propos'd him as worth the Empire. For a long time he led a melancho Life in ſolitary remote Places, with great Care voiding the Induſtry of thoſe whom *Jovian* h ſent to enquire ſtrictly after him, without Com pany or Suſtenance labouring under the utmoſt Pen ry; but grown weary of ſo deſolate a Conditio

ſtole ſecretly into the Parts adjacent to *Chalce-*
, and concealing himſelf in the Houſe of *Stra-*
ius, a truſty Friend, he went oft to *Conſtanti-*
le, where his mean Habit and meagre Counte-
nce made him unknown to the moſt curious Eye.
re, like a cunning Spy, he enquir'd diligently
er News, and was well pleas'd to hear how the
ople generally complain'd of *Valens* for Injuſtice
d Oppreſſion, to which he was continually promp-
by his Father-in-Law *Petronius*, a Man deform'd
h in Body and Mind, ſo Cruel, Covetous and
xorable, that like a Wild Beaſt he rag'd equal-
againſt the Innocent and the Guilty. Theſe his
lent Proceedings, by which he had ruin'd many
rſons of all ſorts, in his ſevere Inquiſitions after
bts that had been owing to the Publick ever
ce the Reign of *Aurelian*, created a general
ſlike to the preſent Grovernment, and a Deſire of
Change, which highly pleas'd *Procopius*, who did
t deſpair of improving it one Day to his own
vantage. *Valens* was about this time preparing
his Expedition into *Syria*, the better to oppoſe
King of *Perſia*, who ſeem'd to have a Deſign
on *Armenia*; and about the beginning of the
ring the Emperor ſet forward with a very good
my, whoſe Abſence ſeem'd much to contribute
Procopius his Ambition, who at length grown
ary of his private Neceſſities, and preferring Death
ſo forlorn, uncomfortable a Life, raſhly ventur'd
on a bold and deſperate Undertaking. The Em-
ror at his Departure out of *Bithynia* had detach'd
trong Party of Horſe and Foot from his Army
defend *Thrace* from the Incurſions of the *Goths*,
ho he was inform'd deſign'd to Invade it. Part
this Detachment was in their March Quarter'd
Conſtantinople, and to ſome of the Officers *Pro-*
ius had the Courage to diſcover himſelf and his
Inten-

Valens *in no Favour with the People.*

Intentions, and after many Promiſes of mighty Re-
wards, they undertook to ſecure all that Party
his Intereſt; accordingly the next Day they we
drawn up at the *Anaſtatian* Baths, where *Procop-
us* was preſented to 'em, and appear'd more like
Ghoſt than one fit for any noble or dangerous Un-
dertaking. He was cloath'd in an Embroider
Coat like a Courtier, having nothing of a Soldi
about him but a Pike, which he bore in his Rig
Hand, having thrown a Purple Coat over his L
Arm, and indeed appear'd like a Player, repreſen
ing that Dignity he was going to uſurp. In th
ridiculous Figure he addreſs'd himſelf in a fawni
Speech to the Soldiers, and implor'd their Aſſiſtanc
who receiv'd him with Promiſes of Protectio
and a Show of Honour, conducting him publick
into the City, where he was neither oppos'd n
encourag'd by the Inhabitants, either for that th
were fond of a Change, or out of a Deteſtati
to *Petronius* his Extortions. Having aſcended t
Tribunal, he obſerv'd a deep Amazement in t
Face of the People, which was attended with
extraordinary a Silence; this threw him into
great Perplexity, for he now thought he was
riv'd at the end of his former Wiſhes, Death
ther than ſo miſerable a Life, and therefore ſto
Speechleſs for ſome time. Recovering by degr
a little Courage, he made the Multitude a confu
Speech, more agreeable to the Diſtractions of
Mind than the Exigencies of his Affairs, and
anſwer'd firſt by the Applauſe of a few among
hired for that purpoſe, and afterwards by the
clamations of the reſt, who in a tumultuous man
gave him the Title of Emperor. This Ceremo
being over they hurried him away to the Pala
attended by none but the meaner ſort, and m
profligate of the People. From ſo contemptib

Procopius *Uſurps.*

Beginn

ginning did he by Degrees raiſe himſelf up to ſo eat a height, as to be able for ſome time to main-in his Uſurpation, to the no ſmall Expence and azard of the State. Some Days after he was join'd others of the better Sort, invited to it either by ir own Inclinations, or the Proſpect of great Ad-ntages. And that no Artifices might be wanting ſupport his Deſigns, ſeveral Perſons at the Pro-rement of *Procopius* impudently affirm'd they were me out of *Gaul*; that *Valentinian* was dead in that ovince, and the People were generally willing to mit to the new Prince. The better to colour is Impoſture, *Nebridius*, whom *Petronius* his In-gues had got to be made *Præfectus Prætorio* in the om of *Salluſt*, and *Cæſarius*, Præfect of *Conſtanti-ple*, were both impriſon'd; and leſt *Julius*, who mmanded in *Thrace*, ſhould be able with the For-s under him to cruſh the Rebellion in its Birth, *bridius* was with great Menaces forc'd to write him in *Valens* his Name to haſten to *Conſtanti-ple*, there to aſſiſt the Emperor with his Advice on very weighty Affairs; whither he was no ſoon-come, but he was likewiſe thrown into Priſon. hings proceeding thus far according to his Wiſhes, *copius* began to alter and new-model the Officers the Court, ſome courting and purchaſing at a eat Expence Employments under this Mock-Em-ror; others, who beheld 'em as no other than nſitory Pageants, were compell'd by Force to ac-pt of 'em; and as it is uſual in ſuch inteſtine Con-ions, ſome from the very Dregs of the People re advanc'd to Offices of Honour and Profit, hilſt others of Noble Birth, great Poſſeſſions, and ge Endowments, were either Baniſh'd or put to ath.

By theſe Arts *Procopius* imagin'd he had ſettled Affairs upon a reaſonable Foundation, and began

to

to think of an Army, whereby he might defend t
Dignity he had thus happily acquir'd; and in th
he ſucceeded according to his Wiſh, for all the Troo
which were deſign'd for *Thrace* readily ſwore Al
giance to him, and bound themſelves under the
vereſt Execrations to be firm and faithful; this th
did with more Chearfulneſs upon ſight of *Conſta*
tius his little Daughter, whom *Procopius* broug
forth in his Arms to 'em, for this reminded 'em
their Affections to that Prince, and *Procopius* his R
lation to *Julian*; nor were they a little anima
when they beheld *Fauſtina*, the Child's Mother, wh
either deſignedly, or elſe upon ſome other accide
tal Occaſion, had that Day put on the Imperial H
bit. After this he diſpatch'd ſeveral Perſons to ma
ſure of *Illyricum*, who went arm'd with nothing
for ſo great an Enterprize, but a groundleſs Imp
dence, and a few of this new Emperor's Meda
and were therefore ſeiz'd by *Æquitius*, who co
manded in thoſe Parts, and tortur'd to Death. The
Proceedings made *Æquitius* apprehend the li
Treatment from the Enemy, if ever he ſhould fa
into their Hands; whereupon he fortify'd all th
Northern Paſſages, and thereby defeated the Uſu
per's Deſigns upon *Illyricum*, wherein he did th
Emperor a very great piece of Service.

Valens upon the firſt Account of theſe Commo
ons reſolv'd to return, and ruin *Procopius*, ere he w
able to make too great a Head againſt him; and w
now in *Galatia*, where he heard of the Uſurpe
unexpected Progreſs; the News of which diſtracte
him to that Degree, that in great Conſternation h
reſolv'd to quit the Imperial Purple, but was pr
vented by thoſe about him, who with powerf
Arguments encourag'd him to the contrary, an
perſuaded him to detach two Parties, who were t
march before, and break into the Camp of the Re
be

. At *Mygdus*, a Town in *Phrygia*, ſituate on River *Singarius*, they met *Procopius*, who had n at *Nice*, and to thoſe who before had ſworn egiance to him had added ſuch a promiſcuous nber of Fugitives and Deſerters, as were willing ry their Fortunes with him; and when both Ar- s were ready to engage, ſtepping boldly forward, f he was going to challenge one of the adverſe ty to a ſingle Combat, he took *Vitalianus*, one he Officers, by the Hand, accoſted him with a iliar and gentle Salutation in *Latin*, and whilſt all each Side were in a Suſpence, he mildly upbrai- him and his Fellow-Soldiers, for *drawing their rds in the behalf of a* Pannonian *Thief, againſt ally'd to the Family of* Conſtantine *the Great, deſir'd nothing but to be reſtor'd to the Rights of Royal Progenitors.* By this Speech he ſo effectu- inſinuated himſelf into 'em, that they who ne arm'd with Reſolutions to fight and deſtroy n, were mollify'd in a moment, and vailing their ſigns, in token of their Defection, paſs'd over his Party; where with loud Acclamations they ted him Emperor, conducting him with general probation to the Imperial Pavilion; and affirming, he Cuſtom was among the Soldiers in thoſe Caſes, t *Procopius* was invincible.

A Party ſent againſt Procopius *deſert to him.*

This Defection brought a very ſeaſonable Ac- ion to the Strength of *Procopius*, who ſent *Ru- alca*, a Tribune, and one of the Deſerters, with ders to ſeize on *Nice*, which he did with all Ex- dition. *Valens* detach'd *Vadomarius* with a ſtrong ty to recover it, whilſt he went and laid cloſe ge to *Chalcedon*, where he met with a very ob- nate Reſiſtance, and beginning to grow in great nt of Proviſions he was forc'd to decamp; of ich they in *Nice* having Notice, made a bold Sal- under the Conduct of *Rumitalca*, and bearing down

Valens *in Danger.*

down all before 'em had certainly ſurpriz'd the E peror, had he not upon timely Notice of their D ſign ſav'd himſelf by the Lake of *Sunona*, and Windings of the River *Gallio*. By this means *Bithynia* fell into the Hands of *Procopius*, and *Va* remov'd with all Expedition to *Ancyra*, where was inform'd that *Lupicinus* was marching with c ſiderable Forces out of the Eaſt to his Aſſiſtan Upon this Encouragement he ſent *Arintheus*, an perienc'd Commander, againſt the Rebels; who p ceeded as far as *Dadaſtana* before he met with Reſiſtance, but was there oppos'd by one *Hyp chius*, with whom as a deſpicable Fellow diſdain to fight, he ſent Orders to his own Men to lay h on their Leader and bind him, which they did cordingly. In the mean time *Procopius* had laid Si to *Cyzicus*, in which the Treaſure, brought form ly out of *Nicomedia* to pay the Army that had ſ ved in the Eaſt, was at preſent lodg'd; upon wh account the Uſurper had great Reaſon to have Eye upon that City, by which, if he could take he might join the *Helleſpont* to *Bithynia*. *Seron nus* was then in the Town, and made the beſt D fence he could. He chain'd up the Haven, and kept out the Enemies Ships, and very much ga the Aſſailants from the Walls. This Reſolution the Defendants was a very great Obſtacle to *Proc us* his Proceedings, and he had rais'd the Siege for the couragious Attempt of one *Aliſo* a Tribu who with much Danger and an undaunted Reſo tion contriv'd a way to cut the Chain; in Co deration of which bold Exploit he had afterwa his Pardon, and was continu'd in his Employme tho' they proceeded with great Severity againſt reſt of the Rebels. *Procopius* being by this me become Maſter of *Cyzicus*, pardon'd all the Beſie except *Seronianus*, whom he ſent bound to N

ith Orders that he ſhould be kept in ſafe Cuſto-
y.

Hitherto he had behav'd himſelf with much Mo-
eration and Humanity: He had lately narrowly
cap'd a Party ſent out by *Valens* to entrap him,
d with much Diligence ſav'd himſelf and his Wife
a Ship prepar'd for the Purpoſe, againſt any ſini-
er Accidents, or unexpected Attempts. But puf-
d up now with the glorious Progreſs of his Af-
irs, he began to grow proud and tyrannical, and
t regarding the Viciſſitude of Fortune, he com-
nded *Arbetio*'s Houſe, full of Moveables of an in-
timable Value to be rifled. He had hitherto ſpa-
d it in confidence of *Arbetio*'s Friendſhip, but
hen he found that upon repeated Meſſages he had
etended Sickneſs, and the Inconveniences of old
ge, and for that reaſon declin'd waiting upon him,
gave him this unſeaſonable Proof of his Indigna-
n. He could not but think this improvident Act
uld draw great Inconveniences upon him, how-
er he pleas'd himſelf with the Thoughts of being
e to paſs into the Eaſt at his Pleaſure, where the
ovinces grew weary of the preſent Government,
d were deſirous of a Change; upon which Ac-
unt he attempted to draw the Cities of *Aſia* over
his Party, and liſten'd diligently to thoſe who
ppos'd to him the readieſt Ways to raiſe Mony,
ereby he might be the better able to raiſe Re-
its upon occaſion, and ſupply his Army.

The Year following, in which *Gratian*, the Son *Valentinian*, and *Dagalaiphus* were Conſuls, *Va-* having join'd *Lupicinus*, march'd with a ſtrong my to *Peſſinus*, a Town belonging to *Galatia*, ich he reinforc'd, and proceeded into *Lycia* with Deſign to ſurprize *Goamoarius*, who lay little ex- ting him. *Valens* found by Experience the ad- ſe Party were much animated againſt him by A. D. 366.

Fauſtina, *Conſtantius*'s Widow, and her little Daughter *Conſtantina*, who by *Procopius* his Order were expos'd to the Army, the better to encourage 'em to fight for ſo tender a Branch of that Imperial Stock, to which he himſelf pleaded a Relation and Right. To obviate theſe Artifices, the Emperor prevail'd with *Arbetio*, who was now retir'd to a private Life, to come to him, hoping by the Preſence and Intereſt of one of *Conſtantine*'s Commanders, the Soldiers Minds would be mollify'd; and was not deceiv'd in his Conjectures, for *Arbetio* being provok'd at *Procopius* his late Proceedings against him, came as ſoon as ſent for, and being reverenc'd by all for his Age and Dignity, he eaſily perſuaded 'em to their Duty. He told 'em, Procopius was *no better than a Highway-man*; *but call'd thoſe who had been ſeduc'd by him, his Sons and Fellow-Soldiers, who had formerly drawn their Swords with Honour, in Defence of the Empire, and Vindication of the Legal Authority, though they were now miſ-led by a deſperate Rebel, whom he adviſ'd them to quit and reſign up to the Puniſhment his Uſurpation had deſerv'd.* This wrought ſo effectually, that Gomoarius, whom, with *Agilo*, *Procopius* had advanc'd to the chiefeſt Command in the Army, ſurrender'd himſelf at *Thyatira* in *Lydia*, as did likewiſe *Agilo* at *Nacolia* in *Phrygia*, whither the Emperor was advanc'd to give the Rebels Battel. Here moſt of the Army follow'd the Example of their General, and went over to *Valens*; at which unexpected Accident *Procopius* was ſo amaz'd, that he forſook his Horſe and fled into the adjoining Woods, whither he was attended by *Florentius* and *Barchalba* a Tribune, who having been acquainted with him ever ſince the Days of *Conſtantius*, had follow'd him out of Neceſſity rather than good Will. They having ſpent the greateſt Part of the Night in

ſtrac

tracted Thoughts and doubtful Apprehenſions, 'till the Moon began to ſhine ſo bright upon 'em that they were in fear of a Diſcovery, and then they ſeiz'd on the dejected *Procopius*, and led him bound to the Emperor, who immediately commanded his Head to be ſtruck off, and *Florentius* and *Barchalbas* to be put to Death, contrary (in *Ammianus* his Opinion) to the Rules of Juſtice and Reaſon: If they had betray'd a lawful Prince, Death had been no more than what their Treaſon had deſerv'd; but if he was a Rebel and Uſurper, they might reaſonably have expected another ſort of Reward for their ſeaſonable Service. However this was the End of *Procopius* his Uſurpation, who ſuffer'd Death in the thirtieth Year and tenth Month of his Age. He was a Man of no mean Preſence, tho' he went ſomething ſtooping, with his Eyes ever fix'd on the Ground, which proceeded from his melancholy Temper, not much unlike *Craſſus*, who is reported never to have laught but once in his Life. Yet was he always averſe to the ſhedding of Blood, which, conſidering the Moroſeneſs of his Temper, is a thing to be wonder'd at, ſaith *Ammianus*.

Procopius *taken, and beheaded.*

Marcellus, Governor of *Nice*, and Kinſman to *Procopius*, hearing of his Death, commanded *Serenianus* in the dead of Night to be ſlain, in which he quickly provided for the Safety of a great many Perſons; for being an ill-natur'd cruel Man, and of great Power with *Valens*, whoſe Countryman he was, it is not unlikely but, had he out-liv'd the Defeat of *Procopius* his Party, he would have exaſperated the Emperor, too much of himſelf inclin'd to Revenge, and procur'd the Deſtruction of many as well innocent as guilty. After this *Marcellus* ſeiz'd on *Chalcedon*, where being aſſiſted by a few, whom Poverty or Deſpair had thruſt into Rebellion, he aſſum'd the Imperial Robe; but was ſhortly after ſurpriz'd

by a Party of ſtout Soldiers ſent for that Purpoſe, who threw him into Priſon, from whence he was taken out the next Day, and, together with his Accomplices, was tortur'd to Death. Tho' *Seronianus* his Death is thought to have abated ſomething of the Rigour in the Proſecutions of the Rebels, yet *Valens* proceeded with the utmoſt Severity againſt thoſe who really were, or who were but barely ſuſpected to have been in *Procopius* his Intereſt. His Ears lay open to all Complaints and Informations, and the leaſt Preſumption made him uſe the ſuſpected Perſon with the greateſt Barbarity; ſo that that which appear'd like a Peace was more cruel, bloody and inexorable than the moſt raging War: Death, Baniſhment, and Confiſcation, were the ordinary Methods of Proceeding, and no Man that had the Misfortune to be accus'd was ſo happy to eſcape one of thoſe three Puniſhments, 'till the Emperor by degrees grew weary of Blood, and he had fill'd his own Coffers and thoſe of his Followers.

Valens his Severity.

During *Procopius* his Uſurpation there happen'd ſuch horrible Earthquakes throughout the World, the like of which are ſo far from being met with in ancient Hiſtory, that they exceeded the most extravagant Fables. About Break of Day, on the 21ſt of *July*, a violent Storm of Thunder and Lightning aroſe, which was attended with ſo dreadful a Motion of the Earth, that the Sea deſerted its ancient Bounds, expoſing Multitudes of its Inhabitants that were ſeen ſticking on the Mud, and the Sun now, firſt ſince the Creation, beheld the naked Boſom of the Deep, ſwelling up here into vaſt Mountains, and ſtretching forth there into continued Vallies; which whilſt Swarms of People came to contemplate, and to behold the Ships that under Sail were left as it were on dry Ground, the Sea on a ſudden, diſdaining a Repulſe, return'd with redoubled

Horrible Earthquakes.

oubled Fury, and bounding over its former Li-
nits, broke with irreſiſtable Rage over Iſlands into
he Continent, where it bore down all before it,
rivate Habitations, publick Buildings, Men and
eaſts. No leſs than fifty thouſand are ſaid to
ave periſh'd upon this Occaſion, great Multitudes
f Ships were found ſtranded after the Receſs of the
Vaters, and ſome by the Violence of the Winds
ad been born up on the Tops of Houſes, as it
appen'd at *Alexandria*, and ſome at two Miles di-
ant from the Shore, as *Ammianus* ſaith he ſaw
he himſelf near *Methone*, a Town in *Laconia*.
hese Prodigies he ſeems to relate as if they por-
nded *Procopius* his Rebellion, tho' they ought ra-
er to be conſider'd as Introductions to that Fatal
undation of the Northern Nations, which hap-
en'd not long after, and the total Ruin of the
eſtern Provinces, which follow'd thereupon.

During theſe Tranſactions in the Eaſt, the *Ger-*
ans having recover'd their Strength, which had
een ſo much impair'd under the Conduct of *Juli-*
, began again to give the Empire ſome Trouble,
d renew'd their Incurſions into *Gaul*, piercing in
e midſt of Winter a great way up into the Coun-
y, againſt whom *Charietto* and *Severianus* were
ſt diſpatch'd, who being overthrown and kill'd in
obſtinate Engagement with the Enemy, *Daga-*
ſius is made Choice of at *Paris*, where *Valenti-*
an then kept his Court, to reſtore the Honour of
e *Roman* Arms; but he delaying the Expedition,
d pretending he had not Strength ſufficient to re-
ain the Barbarians, who in ſeveral Bodies were
ving about the Country, and being ſent for ſome
me after to receive the Conſular Ornaments, and
are that Honour with *Gratian*, *Valentinian*'s Son,
vinus, Maſter of the Horſe, was diſpatch'd a-
y with convenient Forces in his room; he in-

New Troubles in the Weſt.

forming himſelf of the Condition the Barbarian Army was in, and ordering his Marches with great Warineſs and Circumſpection, fell upon a great Party of the Enemy near a Place call'd *Scarponna*, about twelve Miles from *Mets*, and cut 'em all off before they were able to Arm and put themſelves upon their Guard, without loſing one Man on his own ſide; from hence he march'd his Army, animated with ſo good Succeſs, in queſt of another Party, and uſing the ſame Care as before, he was inform'd by ſome Scouts he had ſent out for that purpoſe, that he was not far from the Enemy, who lay in a careleſs manner upon the Bank of the River. As he drew near he refreſh'd his Men in an adjacent Valley, and then upon a Signal given, they broke violently into the Camp of the Barbarians, who had neither time to draw themſelves into a Body, or take to their Arms, or make the leaſt Reſiſtance, but were all kill'd, bitterly curſing and threatning the *Romans*, who were come thus unexpectedly upon 'em. This continued Succeſs, with which Fortune in Juſtice to his Virtue had crown'd his Arms, encourag'd him to proceed againſt a third Party, whom he found in the *Catalaunian* Plains, but in a better manner prepar'd to receive him. Here he entrench'd himſelf, and having allow'd his Men time for Sleep and Refreſhment, he drew out his Army early in the Morning, and diſpos'd it, that it made an appearance of a good Body, and ſeem'd to equal that of the Enemy, tho they far exceeded him in Numbers of Men, but not in Courage and Diſcipline. Upon a Signal given the Fight began, which continu'd all the Day, tho the *Romans* had viſibly the Advantage during the whole Engagement, 'till *Balchobaudes*, a Tribune of the *Armatura*, a great Boaſter, but a downright Coward, ran away towards the Evening, and

Jovinus *Defeats the* Germans.

danger

danger'd the loſs of the whole Army, which began to be in a Confuſion; 'till the General by his extraordinary Diligence encourag'd the Soldiers afreſh, who preſs'd with ſuch Reſolution upon the Enemy, that they kill'd ſix thouſand upon the Place, and wounded four thouſand, and that with the loſs of no more than two hundred on the *Roman* ſide, and as many wounded. The Night having put an end to the Diſpute, *Jovinus* appear'd again next Morning at the Head of his Troops in the Field, but found the Enemy had taken the Advantage of the Night, and were fled, whom he purſu'd as far as he thought he might with Safety; but finding they were too far gone to be overtaken he return'd to the Camp, where he was inform'd that their King, who with a few others had been taken by ſome whom *Jovinus* had ſent to Plunder the Camp, was in his Abſence hang'd; at which he was ſo highly enrag'd, that he had puniſh'd the Commanding Officer with Death, had it not been made appear to him that it was done by the ungovernable Rage of the Soldiers, who in the Heat of the Service were not to be reſtrain'd. After this compleat Victory he march'd back to *Paris*, and was met without the City by the Emperor, who in Reſpect to his Eminent Services deſign'd him Conſul for the enſuing Yeat. The Joy they conceiv'd for ſo proſperous a Concluſion of the Campaign, was improv'd by the arrival of Meſſengers from *Valens*, who about the ſame time ſent his Brother *Valentinian* the Head of the Uſurper *Procopius*.

The State of the Church.

Whilſt the Empire was thus aſſaulted on all ſides, the Church was no leſs diſtracted by Hereſie and Schiſm; the *Arians* had receiv'd ſo ſmall a Check during the ſhort Reign of *Jovian*, who eſpous'd the Orthodox Intereſt, that they ſtill continu'd their

Artifices, Oppreſſions and Cruelties; tho' *Valentinian* was an utter Enemy to their abominable Opinions, yet deſiring, if poſſible, to unite the Minds of the People, he choſe rather to connive at them openly oppoſe 'em; but *Valens*, whoſe Wife *Domitia* was an *Arian*, and who had been this Year Baptiz'd by the Hands of *Eudoxius*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Patron of Arianiſm, declar'd himſelf openly for that Hereſie, omitting no Opportunities for its Encouragement and Support, and doing all he could to drive thoſe Paſtors out of the Church, who had the Courage to oppoſe it, ſo that the *Arians* govern'd as they pleas'd in the Spiritual Affairs throughout the Eaſt; nor were they much inferior in Power in the Weſt, obtaining that by force of Arms which they could not procure by the Favour and Indulgence of the Emperor.

This Year *Liberius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, dy'd, upon which enſu'd a Scandalous Sedition in the City, occaſion'd by the different Parties contending for the Succeſſion, in which the Partiſans of *Damaſus*, who had been Elected by the *Arians*, diſputed it warmly with the Catholicks, for whom they were too ſtrong, that *Ammianus* ſaid no leſs than one hundred thirty ſeven Perſons were found dead in a Church where they us'd to aſſemble to perform their Publick Worſhip; and that *Juventius*, Præfect of the City finding himſelf unable to quell the Tumult, was forc'd to retire into the Suburbs. He adds, " That 'tis no " wonder to ſee thoſe, who are ambitious of Humane " Greatneſs, contending with ſo much Heat and Ani- " moſity for that Dignity, which when they have ob- " tain'd they are ſure of being enrich'd by the Obla- " tions of the People, of appearing in great Splendor, " broad, conſpicuous in their coſtly Coaches, ſump- " tuous in their Feaſts, out-doing Soveraign Princes " the Expences of the Table. For which Reaſon Pre-

textatus

tatus, a Heathen, who was Præfect of the City the ar following, was in the right when he ſaid, *Make Biſhop of* Rome, *and I'll be a Chriſtian too.*

Whilſt the *Roman* Arms were buſied, as we ob- v'd before, in the Weſt, *Thrace* began to be eaten'd with new Commotions; for the *Goths* ving aſſiſted *Procopius* in his Deſigns upon the npire, and ſupply'd him with a good Number of ldiers, *Valens* thought he had juſt reaſon to call n to an Account for ſo bold an Affront; and there- e firſt ſent *Victor*, Maſter of the Horſe, to de- nd of 'em *why they who were at Peace, and League with the* Romans, *preſum'd to join with Rebel who had rais'd War againſt his lawful veraign.* They alledg'd in Excuſe, and produc'd *ocopius* his Letters, wherein he affirm'd himſelf the eir of *Conſtantine*'s Family, and upon that Grounds d a Right to the Imperial Title, which he had um'd; *This*, they ſaid, *ought to accuſe their Pro- dings, which were influenc'd by what appear'd them juſt and equitable. Valens*, in no manner ſa- fy'd with this frivolous Anſwer, march'd towards e latter end of the Spring with a good Army a- inſt them, and having muſter'd his Men near *phne*, a Fort built by *Conſtantine* the Great in *oſia Secunda*, the better to reſtrain the Inroads of e *Goths*, he paſs'd 'em over the *Iſter* by Bridges ilt for that Purpoſe, and got ſafe on the other e without the leaſt Reſiſtance, where he found tle to do; for upon the Approach of the *Roman* rmy the *Goths* were all fled into the Neighbour- g Mountains of *Serri*, inacceſſible to any but thoſe ho were well acquainted with the Country. But at he might be ſaid to have done ſomething in e Summer's Expedition, he ſent out *Arintheus* to rprize ſome who were wandring o'er the Plains, d had not yet reach'd their Companions, and ſo without

Commotions in Thrace.

without receiving any harm, or doing much dam
he return'd. The Year following he prepar'd w
the ſame Application for a ſecond Invaſion, but
ſtopp'd in his Expedition by the immoderate
verflowing of the *Danube*, and forc'd to enca
near a Village call'd *Carporus*, 'till Winter com
on he remov'd to *Marcianopolis*, where he contin
the reſt of the Year. The next Summer he
new'd his Deſign, and having laid a Bridge of Bo
over the River at *Novidunum*, he pierc'd far in
the Country, and fell upon the *Gruthungi*, a ve
Warlike Nation, and after ſeveral Encounters forc
Athanaric, their Chief Commander, and a Br
Soldier, to fly; after which Exploits he return
again to Winter in *Marcianopolis*, where ſome Ov
tures were made of a Peace, which both Si
ſeem'd inclinable to liſten to. By reaſon of t
Prince's Abſence the Eaſt was expos'd to gr
Danger, and the Barbarians, who us'd to drive
great Trade with the Subjects of the Empire, b
gan to be in great Diſtreſs from ſo long an Int
ruption, ſo that they ſent their Ambaſſadors ſuffi
ently inſtructed to offer their Propoſals for a Peac
And the Emperor, who as yet had a regard to J
ſtice, and ſtudy'd the Welfare of his Subjects, th
he was afterwards miſ-led by his groſs Flatterer
and overwhelm'd the Empire in unſpeakable M
fortunes, gave Ear to the Ambaſſadors, ſo that
immediately ſent away *Victor* and *Arinthæus*, w
finding the *Goths* to be in good earneſt, agreed u
on the Preliminaries, and the Place of Treaty.
thanaric affirm'd his Father had made him ſwe
ſolemnly never to tread on *Roman* Ground; a
becauſe it was below the Majeſty of the Empe
to go to him, they met by conſent in Boats in t
Peace with the Goths. middle of the River, where the Peace was ratify'd
their mutual Satisfaction, and Hoſtages deliver'd
bo

h ſides; after which *Valens* return'd to *Conſtan-*
ple, whither *Athanaric* likewiſe fled in the Reign
Theodoſius, being driven out of his own Country
a Faction rais'd againſt him, and was there very
gnificently bury'd after the *Roman* manner.

All this while the *Germans* ſeem'd to be very quiet
he Weſt, ſo that *Valentinian* was at leiſure to
k after the Affairs of *Britain*, where the *Picts* *The Affairs of* Britain.
Scots committed great Outrages, but were by
extraordinary Care and Management repreſs'd for
preſent; but as he was returning from *Amiens* to-
rds *Triers*, the Year following, he was inform'd A. D.
t the Barbarians were again up in Arms, and had 367.
uc'd this Iſland to a miſerable Condition, having
'd *Nectaridus*, and circumvented another Prin-
al Commander of the *Romans*; whereupon *Jo-*
vius was ſent with great Expedition to reinforce the
my in *Britain*, but receiving ſtill worſe News of
State of Affairs in this Iſland, the Emperor
de Choice of *Theodoſius*, a Man of great Expe- Theodoſius
nce and exemplary Courage, who at the Head of *ſent thither.*
gallant Army, both of Horſe and Foot, chear-
y undertook the Service. The *Picts* at that
e were divided into two Nations, the *Deucali-*
dii and *Vecturiones*, beſides whom there were the
tacotti and the *Scots*, who rov'd up and down,
committed a great deal of Miſchief. *Theodoſius*
bark'd at *Bulloign*, and landed ſafely at *Rutupiæ*,
Richborough in *Kent*, where, as ſoon as he was
n'd by his whole Army, he march'd directly to
ndon, call'd *Londonium* by *Ammianus*, but after-
rds *Auguſta*, accounted a City of great Anti-
ty in his Days; and dividing his Forces into
veral Parties, fell upon the Rovers whilſt they
ſcatter'd up and down loaden with their Booty,
hich together with their Captives he quickly re-
ver'd out of their Hands, reſtoring all to the right

Pro-

Proprietors, except a ſmall Portion which he diſtri-
buted among his weary Soldiers. After this he re-
turn'd in a triumphant manner to the City, o
preſs'd before with great Difficulties, but by
means reſtor'd to its ancient Freedom. Here wh
in the ſecret Satisfaction of his preſent Succeſs,
an Uncertainty of the future, he lay conſider
what further Courſe he was beſt to take, he
inform'd by the Priſoners and Deſerters, that
Enemies conſiſted of many Nations fierce and
tractable, not to be maſter'd but by Stratagems
ſudden Onſets. Firſt therefore upon Promiſe o
general Pardon he encourag'd thoſe, who had
ſaken their Colours, to return; and ſtill intent up
the better Management of the Affairs in the Iſla
he ſent for *Civilis* to govern *Britain* as Vice-Pr
fect under him, joining *Dulcilius* in Commiſſ
with him. Here he continu'd 'till the Year 3
during which time he acted the Part of a ha
couragious Soldier, as well as an experienc'd
vigilant Captain. By his great Care and excelle
Management he laid the Foundations of Peace
Security, which continu'd for a long time aft
reſtoring both the Cities and Garriſons, into wh
great Diſorders had crept, to as good a Conditi
as they had formerly been in. After he had
cover'd a Province the Enemy had over-run, fo
tify'd the Borders, and ſettled all things that w
amiſs in the Iſland; he was with much Comm
dation recall'd to Court, and left his Charge wi
no leſs Honour, than formerly had waited on t
Induſtry and Fortunes of *Furius Camillus*, or P
pirius Curſor. Tho' theſe Exploits were the Wo
of ſeveral Years, I thought fit to touch upon
once for all, that I might with leſs Interrupti
attend ſuch Tranſactions as more immediately rel
to the Empire.

His prudent Management.

B

But to return to *Valentinian*, who whilſt he lay *Amiens* fell dangerouſly ill, inſomuch that his ſe was deſpair'd of: Whereupon *Ruſticus Ju-nus*, a Man of a moſt cruel and implacable Nature, s at a private Meeting propos'd by ſome *Gauls* for Succeſſor; but was for good Reaſons oppos'd by ers, who were more inclinable to *Severus*, a Man eed of an auſtere ſurly Temper, but in all Re-cts to be preferr'd before him. In the mean e the Emperor's unexpected Recovery put an to the Hopes and Contentions of both Parties; o perhaps not ignorant of what had been tranſact-, reſolv'd to prevent any further Diſputes, and t his Son *Gratian* with the Purple. Having pre-'d the Minds of the Soldiers to ratifie his Choice, led *Gratian* into the Camp, where attended by reat Concourſe of the Nobility, he plac'd his Son his right Hand, and in a ſet Speech recommen-him to the Army for their future Emperor. e Sight of the Emperor, the Joy for his Reco-y, the Preſence of the Young Prince, under whoſe ign they promis'd themſelves mighty Advanta-, eaſily perſuaded 'em to concur with the Em-or in his Requeſt; whereupon they receiv'd and claim'd *Gratian* Emperor, giving all poſſible De-nſtrations of their Joy and Satisfaction.

Valentinian *falls ſick.*

and upon his Recovery make his Son Gratian Auguſtus.

This great Work being over, the Emperor ſoon cover'd the Cruelty of his Nature, which he hitherto for private Ends with great Care and luſtry conceal'd. He commanded *Diocles*, who been *Comes Largitionum* in *Illyricum*, to be nt alive, upon very inconſiderable Crimes ob-ted againſt him; as he did likewiſe *Diodorus*, and eral others, and that only for flying to the Pro-tion of the Law, againſt the Oppreſſions of a at Man in favour. Theſe Executions were done *Milain*, where the Chriſtians ſolemniz'd the Me-

mory

mory of those who suffer'd, calling the Place wh they were bury'd *The Innocents.* His Fury exte ed it self to the Corporations, many in whom had put to death, had he not been restrain'd by seasonable Interposition of *Euphraxius* the Quæ and *Florentius* the Præfect. If any one declin'd Jurisdiction of a Judge, whose Malice he had son to think would make him partial in his Ca and from whom upon such an Account he migh Equity appeal, he certainly remitted the Cause the same Judge, notwithstanding all the Except the Appealant could make: And if any Man found to owe the Publick more than it appear'd was able to pay, *Valentinian*, according to the verity of an old Law, which the Gentleness of m er Administrations had long since abrogated, adjud him to die.

Great Troubles in Africk.

We observ'd before how much *Britain* was affl ed by the *Scots* and *Picts*, at the same time *Afr* groan'd under the Rage and Cruelty of the Bar rians, having hardly been at ease ever since the ginning of this Emperor's Reign, which may w be imputed to the great want of Discipline in t Army. One *Romanus* had been sent to govern those Parts, a Man of so covetous and insatiabl Temper, that he exceeded the very Barbarians oppressing and pillaging the Provinces; but still to care to have a Friend at Court, who blinded the E peror with a plausible Representation of *Romanus* Conduct, and kept him in Ignorance of the misc ble Condition the Country was in. The *Asturi* a barbarous Nation, had for a long time harra the Province by their frequent Inroads, but eit upon Compulsion or through Fear had sate still some time in *Jovian*'s Reign, 'till a little before Death they renew'd their Hostilities, and grew m outragious than ever, and that upon this Occasi

e *Stacha* their Countryman had been guilty of
y abominable Practices within the *Roman* Pale,
had proceeded ſo far as to attempt the betraying
he Province, upon which he was apprehended,
victed, and burnt alive. This ſo enrag'd the
barians, that like wild Beaſts they broke out and
all the Country waſte before 'em. They had
the Confidence to attempt *Leptis*, a ſtrong City,
l fortify'd and inhabited, but continu'd for three
s together in the fruitful Country about it,
'd all they met, burnt what they could not bear
and took *Silva* Priſoner, who was one of the
ef Men of the Town, and happen'd to be then
h his Family in the Country. The *Leptines* had
at Reaſon to be concern'd at this Affront, and
refore apply'd themſelves to *Romanus* for Re-
ſs; but he refus'd to concern himſelf in the
tter, unleſs they would make very large Provi-
ns for him, and furniſh him with no leſs than 4000
mels for his Expedition. Theſe Demands were
high and exorbitant to be comply'd with by Peo-
who had been exhauſted by ſo many Depreda-
ns; ſo that after he had amus'd 'em with a pretend-
Negotiation for forty Days together, he left 'em
follow other Meaſures. They ſeeing they could
e no Protection from him, diſpatch'd away *Se-*
us and *Flaccianus* to *Valentinian*, who were to
e him a true Account of the miſerable State of
ir Affairs. Of this when *Romanus* was inform'd
ſent a Meſſenger away Poſt to *Remigius*, his Kinſ-
n and Confident, who was great Steward of the
uſhold, deſiring him to perſuade the Emperor
defer the Buſineſs to the Vicar of *Africk* and
nſelf. When the Meſſengers were arriv'd at Court,
l had preſented their Petition, offering to prove
Particulars contain'd in it, *Remigius* manag'd his
end's Cauſe with ſo much Cunning, that the Em-
peror

peror was at a loſs which to believe; and ſo
Matter ſlept for the preſent, as is uſual in C
where there is a hurry of Buſineſs.

Whilſt the People of *Tripolis* waited in expe
on of their deſir'd Relief, the Barbarians encou
by theſe ſiniſter Practices came down in greater N
bers, and waſted all the Territories of *Leptis*,
Oea, a Town ſituated between that and *Sab*
from which three Cities the Province of *Tripo*
ſaid to have its Name. They kill'd ſeveral Offi
and an infinite number of inferior Rank; *Roma*
to whom the Charge of the Militia was lately tr
ferr'd, ſitting all this while idle and unconcer
The Noiſe of theſe Devaſtations at laſt reach'd
Emperor's Ears in *Gaul*, at which he was ſo c
cern'd, that he immediately ſent away *Palladius*
Mony to pay the Army their Arrears, and Or
to bring him a true Information of the State of
Province. In the mean time the *Aſturiani*, enc
rag'd by theſe Delays, continu'd their Incurſi
raging like ravenous Wolves, whom the Taſte
Human Blood had made more thirſty and impl
ble. *Mychon*, a ſubſtantial Citizen, and a Ma
great Intereſt, was ſurpriz'd near the Town,
endeavouring to make his Eſcape he fell into
empty Pit, breaking one of his Ribs in the F
from whence he was taken up by the Barbarians
led to the Gates, where he was ranſom'd by his W
and drawn up by a Cord to the Top of the W
but dy'd of his Wound two Days after. This
vilege of doing what they pleas'd, made the Ba
rians more inſolent and preſuming: They attac
Leptis it ſelf, and continu'd before the Walls for ei
Days together; but finding the Inhabitants reſo
to defend the Town, and having ſome of their o
Men wounded, they return'd ſomething diſcour
The *Leptines* all this while hearing no News of t

† for

rmer Meſſengers, and reduc'd to the laſt Extre-
ties, ſent *Jovinus* and *Pancratius* with freſh In-
uctions to the Emperor, whom they were to in-
rm of what they had both ſeen and ſuffer'd. At
rthage theſe Meſſengers met with *Severus* and
ccianus, from whom they underſtood the Em-
ror's Will, but however proceeded with great
ligence to Court. *Severus* dy'd at *Carthage*, but
ccianus return'd to give the *Leptines* an Account
his Embaſſie.

By this time *Romanus* was inform'd of *Palladius*
Approach, and the Subſtance of his Commiſſion,
d therefore conſider'd what Methods were to be
ken for his own Security. He dealt under-hand
th the Principal Officers of the Army, with whom
maintain'd a good Intelligence, to preſent *Palla-*
s with the greateſt Share of the Mony he had
ought to pay their Arrears, which they readily
nſented to; and *Palladius*, being of a mean mer-
nary Temper, as readily accepted. Being arriv'd
Leptis, he receiv'd from *Erectbius* and *Ariſtome-*
nes, two of the chief Men of the Town, the diſ-
l Complaints of the Inhabitants, by whom he
s conducted to view the lamentable Condition of
e Country, and the miſerable Havock the Barbari-
s had made. Which when he had diligently ſur-
y'd he return'd with bitter Exclamations againſt
manus, threatning to give the Emperor a full Ac-
unt of the Condition to which he ſaw the Province
s reduc'd by his Means. But *Romanus*, pro-
k'd at his Reproof, and conſcious of his Miſma-
gement, told *Palladius* he would turn Informer
o, and let the Emperor know how faithfully he
d diſcharged his Truſt, having perverted the great-
ſhare of the Soldiers Donative to his own pri-
te Uſe; which put *Palladius* into ſuch a Fright,
at he agreed with *Romanus* to conceal all from

the Emperor; and accordingly aſſur'd him at his Return, that the Provincials complain'd without Reaſon: And being ſent back a ſecond time in *Africk*, he and *Romanus* tamper'd ſo cunningly with the *Leptines*, that they deny'd they had given *Vincentius* any Commiſſion to ſay what he did to the Emperor; who thereupon order'd *Erectbius* and *Ariſtomenes* to have their Tongues cut out, and *Vincentius* to be put to Death, and proceeded with like Severity againſt all the reſt, who had been induſtrious in expoſing the Villany of *Romanus*. *Vincentius* was executed at *Utica*, but *Erectbius* and *Ariſtomenes* made their Eſcape, and lay conceal'd after the Death of *Valentinian*; when the whole Intrigue was diſcover'd, and the Complotters puniſh'd as they deſerv'd.

The King of Perſia *begins new Troubles.*

As theſe Commotions in *Africk* ſeem'd an Inſtance of the Declenſion of the Empire, ſo did *Sapor*, the old King of *Perſia*, by his Practices in the Eaſt, bid open Defiance to it. He had, ſince the infamous Peace made with *Jovian*, been frequently tampering with the Nobility of *Armenia*, trying by fair Promiſes to allure them over to his Party, and to force the ordinary ſort by Menaces: But being now no longer able to conceal his Deſigns, he openly invaded it; and having by abominable Treachery got *Arſaces*, King of the Country, into his Hands, he firſt put out his Eyes, and then murder'd him in a Caſtle call'd *Agabana*: Then driving out Sanatruces, whom the *Romans* had ſet over *Iberia*, he inſolently put one *Aſpacuras* in his Place, and in Defiance of the *Roman* Authority honour'd him with a Diadem. Encourag'd by this Succeſs in his Arbitrary Proceedings, he committed *Armenia* to the Care of *Cylaces* the Eunuch, and *Artabanes*, two Fugitives whom he had long entertain'd in his Court, and at the ſame time gave 'em Orders to take

ſe *Artogeraſſa*, a very ſtrong Town, in which the
ueen lay with her Son, and the Treaſure of *Ar-*
es. They, as they had been commanded, laid
ege to the Place; but foraſmuch as the Town
od very advantageouſly, and the Severity of the
inter hinder'd the Beſiegers from advancing their
orks, *Cylaces* and *Artabanes* upon promiſe of a
Conduct were admitted into the Place, where
y endeavour'd in high Terms to perſuade the
een to ſurrender, and by a ſpeedy Compliance
ke the King of *Perſia* her Friend. She in a very
hetical manner bewail'd her Husband's Death,
her own Misfortunes, and wrought ſo effectu-
with her Tears upon thoſe two Captains, that
m Enemies they began firſt to pity her Conditi-
and then to embrace her Intereſt; upon which
ring into a more ſecret Conſultation, it was con-
ded that the Beſieg'd ſhould, at a ſet Hour in the
ght, ſally out with an unexpected Force upon
Enemy, and attack 'em in their Trenches, and
Cylaces and *Artabanes* ſhould favour the Attempt.
eſe Things being agreed upon, and both Sides
ingly ſolemnly ſworn to the Performance of 'em,
two Commanders return'd to the Camp, telling
Perſians the Beſieg'd had deſir'd two Days to
ſider of their Propoſals. This threw the Beſie-
s into a ſtupid Security, ſo that in the dead of
ght, whilſt the Guards themſelves were aſleep,
ſe from the City came ſuddenly upon 'em, and
on 'em with ſo much Fury, that they ſuffer'd
or none to eſcape. *Sapor* was ſo exaſperated at
Accident, that he breath'd nothing but Revenge;
ecially when he found that *Para*, the Son of *Ar-*
s, whom the Queen, after the late Advantage
ain'd over the *Perſians*, had ſent into the *Roman*
ritories, was kindly receiv'd by *Valens* his Or-
and appointed to reſide at *Neocæſarea*. This

Generoſity of the Emperor towards *Arſaces* his Son, encourag'd *Cyclaces* and *Artabanes* to deſire his Aſſiſtance againſt *Sapor*, and that he would ſend young *Para* to be their King. For ſome time the Emperor deny'd their Requeſt, but at length commanded *Terentius*, his Governor in thoſe Parts, to conduct *Para* into *Armenia*, where he ſuffer'd him to command, but without any of the Enſigns of Royal Authority; proceeding thus cautiouſly, leſt *Sapor*, who was already highly provok'd, ſhould have juſt Cauſe to object to the *Romans* the Breach of the Peace.

Sapor, when he was inform'd of what *Valens* had done, was enraged to the higheſt Degree, and fell violently upon *Armenia*, which he ravaged, and laid all waſte before him, whilſt *Para*, ſeeing no poſſibility of Relief, fled with *Cylaces* and *Artabanes* into the ſtrong Holds of the Mountains, which lay between the *Roman* Borders and *Lazica*, where they lay lurking five Months together, in ſpight of all the Means made uſe of by *Sapor* to take 'em: Who ſeeing it to no purpoſe to haunt any longer after 'em, burnt all the Forts and Caſtles he had taken either by Fraud or Force, and ſate down with a numerous Army before *Artogeraſſa*, which after ſeveral Sallies and Attacks he took and deſtroy'd, carrying away the Wife and Treaſure of *Arſaces*. Theſe Proceedings ſeem'd to give the *Romans* a juſt Occaſion to begin the War, and therefore *Arintheus* was ſent with a good Army to aſſiſt the *Armenians* upon all Occaſions; which *Sapor* no ſooner underſtood, but he betook himſelf to his uſual Artifices, in which he ſeldom miſcarry'd. By private Meſſengers he proffer'd *Para* his Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance, and ſeem'd to blame the Baſeneſs of his Spirit, *that could ſuffer himſelf to be cheated with the ſhadow of Authority, whilſt* Cylaces *and* Artabanes *aſſum'd all the*

Power

ower, and were in Effect no other than his Go-ernors; by theſe cunning Inſinuations he ſo far mpos'd upon the Ignorance of the Young Prince hat he kill'd 'em both, and ſent their Heads to *Sa-r*, to let him know how tractable he ſhould find im for the future. By this means he had una-oidably got all *Armenia* into his Hands, had not *rintheus* by his timely Approach prevented him; that finding himſelf likely to be over-power'd he equir'd by his Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, that, cording to the Articles of Peace between him and *ovian*, the *Armenians* might receive no Aſſiſtance om the *Romans*. This the Emperor was ſo far om condeſcending to, that he order'd *Terentius* ith twelve Legions to reſtore *Sauromaces* by force o his Principality of *Iberia*; but *Aſpacuras* deſir'd *Sauromaces*, as he drew near with the *Roman* rmy to the River *Cyrus*, that being Kinſmen they ight govern conjointly, alledging that he could ither give up the Country, or take part with the *omans*, becauſe his Son was detain'd as an Hoſtage the *Perſian* Court. The Emperor being ac-uainted with the Propoſals, and willing to ſettle e Affairs of *Iberia* in as peaceable a manner as he ould, conſented to a Partition of the Country, ſigning that part which lay next to *Armenia* and *azica* to *Sauromaces*, and to *Aſpacuras* the Reſidue ordering upon *Albania* and *Perſia*. This Agree-ent highly incens'd *Sapor*, who loudly complain'd hat the *Romans*, contrary to the Treaty of Peace, ad reliev'd *Armenia*, deſpis'd his Embaſſie, and ithout his Knowledge or Conſent had divided *I-eria*; for which Indignities he vow'd to be reveng'd, aking all Preparations accordingly both at home nd abroad to undo what had been concerted with-ut his Concurrence. Theſe things happen'd in e Years 368 and 369, in the laſt of which *Va-* A. D.

lentinian, the Son of *Valens*, and *Aur. Victor*, were Conſuls.

Valentinian's *Exploits in* Germany.

About the ſame time one *Rhando*, a *German* of Royal Birth, ſeiz'd ſuddenly upon the City of *Ments*, a Deſign he had been long contriving, and could the eaſier execute by reaſon there was no Garriſon in it; and it happening to be upon ſome ſolemn Feſtival, the Inhabitants, who were all Chriſtians, were buſie at their Devotion, and therefore little able to defend themſelves; after he had made himſelf Maſter of the Place he plunder'd it, and went off with a great Booty, and a great many Priſoners of both Sexes. Not long after, as if Fortune deſir'd to make the *Romans* ſome amends, *Vitho cabius*, a Prince of that Nation, was murder'd by one of his own Servants, at the Inſtigation of ſome *Roman* Emiſſaries. He was an active, vigilant Prince, tho' he outwardly appear'd weak and infirm, and had been both by his Arms and in his Councils a great Enemy to the *Romans*, whoſe open Attempts againſt him he had often evaded, and therefore they had no other means left to remove him but by Treachery. The Traitor, as ſoon as the Fact was committed, fled his Country to avoid the Puniſhment he too juſtly deſerv'd, and was kindly receiv'd by the *Romans*. *Valentinian* could not but think the *Germans* would revenge ſo foul a Treaſon with all the Acts of Hoſtility imaginable, and therefore made more than ordinary Preparations to prevent them. He rais'd a very powerful Army, ſupply'd it with all manner of Proviſions, and as ſoon as the Time of the Year would permit paſs'd the *Rhine* without any Reſiſtance, taking his Son *Gratian* along with him. After a long March of ſeveral Days into the Country, without meeting the Enemy to oppoſe 'em, they came to a Place called *Solicinium*, where he was inform'd by his Spies that

he Enemy were near at hand, who finding it im-
oſſible to avoid coming to an Engagement, poſſeſs'd
hemſelves of a very advantageous Piece of Ground,
which they reſolv'd to defend againſt the *Roman*
Legions, and out of which the Emperor reſolv'd
o remove 'em. The Place was a high and ſcrag-
y Mountain, almoſt inacceſſible on every Side, ex-
ept that which look'd towards the North; thither
e ſent *Sebaſtianus*, with part of the Forces under
is Command, to intercept the *Germans* in their
light, if he ſhould have the good Fortune to
ain the better of 'em from any other Quarter.
le himſelf went attended with ſome in whom he
ould beſt confide, to ſee on what other part he
ight moſt commodiouſly attempt 'em, in which
nterprize he very narrowly eſcap'd an Ambuſcade
f the Enemy, and with much Difficulty got ſafe
o his own Men; who after they had refreſh'd
hemſelves prepar'd for the Engagement, and at-
ack'd the Enemy with ſo true a *Roman* Courage,
hat notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition the *Ger-*
ans could make, who fought with more Reſolu-
on than Conduct, they gain'd the Top of the
Mountain, and ſurrounded them. However the
ermans maintain'd the Fight for a long time with
deſperate Bravery, 'till at length over-power'd
y freſh Supplies they were firſt put into Diſor-
er, and after that to Flight, in which more Men
ell than in the Battel; thoſe few that eſcap'd fled
nto the Woods, leaving to the *Romans* the Ho-
our of the Field, and the Advantage of a very
reat Victory, purchas'd at the Expence of a few
ommon Soldiers, and the Advantage of a very
reat Victory, purchas'd at the Expence of a few
ommon Soldiers, and the Loſs of two or three
rave Commanders. After this the Soldiers were
nt into Winter-Quarters, and the two Emperors
eturn'd to *Triers*.

Great Cruelties exerciſ'd at Rome.

About this time there were extraordinary Outrages committed in *Rome* by the means of one *Maximinus*, who from an obſcure Beginning roſe to a Principal Command in the City. He was of a cruel inexorable Temper, and being a Man of great Intereſt with *Valentinian*, who was almoſt as cruel as himſelf, he rag'd without Diſtinction againſt all Ages and Conditions, varniſhing over his barbarous Proceedings with the ſpecious Colour of Juſtice. Never did Tyrant with more Implacableneſs afflict a People he was ſent to Govern, or more notoriouſly pervert the Laws to the Ruin of thoſe they were deſign'd to protect. From being Intendant of the publick Corn, he at length, by his Impudence and Flattery, arriv'd at the Dignity of *Præfectus Prætorio* it ſelf, bearing himſelf with equal Inſolence, Pride and Corruption in all his Offices, 'till at laſt, under *Gratian*, he ſuffer'd Death by the Hands of the Common Hangman, together with ſeveral of his Inſtruments and Accomplices.

Valens *his Tyrannical Proceedings in the Eaſt.*

About the ſame time *Valens* rag'd with equal Fury in the Eaſt, to which an appearance of Danger and the evil Practices of ſome of his own Servants had juſtly provok'd him. *Anatolius* and *Spudaſius* two Perſons employ'd in the Revenue, were accuſed of having attempted the Life of *Fortunatianus*, who had the principal Management of the Emperor's private Eſtate, and who, being a troubleſome inquiſitive Man, was calling them to a very ſevere Account for Matters relating to their Office. The Matter was brought before *Modeſtus* the *Præfect Prætorio*, and one *Palladius* and *Heliodorus* were put to the Rack. *Palladius*, unable to endure the Torture, cry'd out, *That theſe were ſlight inconſiderable Matters, compar'd to others in Agitation, which were of that Conſequence, as to bring all things into Confuſion, without a timely Prevention*; be-

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ng'd to a Diſcovery of what he meant, he accus'd *Fiduſtius*, who had formerly been Preſident, and *Genaus*, and *Pergamius*, of learning, by ſecret Practices and forbidden Arts, the Name of him who was to ſucceed *Valens* in the Empire. *Fiduſtius* was by chance then preſent, and was too much ſurpriz'd at ſo peremptory and unexpected a Charge to deny the Fact. He confeſs'd that *he, together with one* Hilarius *and* Patritius, *two Perſons well skill'd in the Art of Divination, enquir'd into that Matter, and found, upon trial, that an excellent Prince was to ſucceed* Valens, *but that they themſelves ſhould come to untimely Ends for their fatal Curioſity*; that *examining farther between themſelves, who was moſt likely to be the Man, they concluded it could be no Body but* Theodorus, *whoſe great Accompliſhments made him worthy the Sovereign Command.* And indeed they were not much deceiv'd in their Conjecture, for *Theodorus* was deſcended of an Ancient and Noble Family in *Gaul*, tho' a *Sicilian* by Birth, and acceptable to all Men of all Conditions, who highly eſteem'd him for his Modeſty, Prudence, Learning and Humanity, Virtues that deſerv'd a more exalted Fortune than that to which he was arriv'd, tho' he then had great Preferments at Court. *Fiduſtius* confeſs'd farther, being almoſt tortur'd to Death, that he had inform'd *Theodorus* of theſe Predictions by the Intervention of *Euſerius*, a Man of great Learning and eminent Quality, having formerly commanded as Vicar in *Aſia*. *Euſerius* was immediately committed to Priſon, and the Emperor inform'd of all that had paſs'd, which enrag'd him to the higheſt degree. Orders were immediately iſſu'd out for the apprehending *Theodorus* at *Conſtantinople*, as were likewiſe ſeveral others, eminent for their Birth and Employments, ſeiz'd in more remote

remote Parts of the Empire, and brought up in Cuſtody. The Publick Priſons could not contain thoſe that were apprehended, nor were private Dwellings ſufficient for the Reception of ſuch Multitudes of People, abundance of whom were committed upon bare Suſpicion. For *Valens* was naturally of a jealous, diſtruſtful Temper, which his Flatterers that were conſtantly about him labour'd to improve, and ſome late Practices against his Life had abundantly exaſperated, which however can in no meaſure excuſe the unexampled Rigour of his Inquiſitions; he proceeded with equal Severity againſt the Innocent and the Guilty, and frequently reſolv'd upon the Puniſhment before he was acquainted with the Crime, ſo that a great many were commanded to prepare for Death, before they knew they were in the leaſt ſuſpected. He was too proud and imperious to ſubmit himſelf to the Coolneſs of a ſober Enquiry, too Covetous to ſuffer any to eſcape who had been once accus'd, and too much abus'd by his Paraſites to give Ear in the Courſe of his Proceedings to the Advice of Men of Honour and Conſcience: In a Word, he was grown ſo ſeverely terrible, that one *Salia*, who had a little before been Intendant of the Treaſury in *Thrace*, fell down dead at the Officer's Feet the Morning he was to be examin'd, under an Apprehenſion of the great Torture he was that Day to undergo.

The firſt that was brought upon the Stage was *Pergamius*, who being a Man full of Words, in a very large Diſcourſe accus'd ſome thouſands as Accеſſary, many of whom were then living in the remoteſt Parts of the Empire; but whereas the Judges were before at a loſs in what Method to proceed, his indigeſted Allegations made it more confus'd and intricate, and ſo he was put to Death. After ſeveral

veral had been examin'd, who vary'd in ſome Par-
ulars, but agreed in the main, *Theodorus* was
mmanded to ſpeak, who at firſt made uſe of In-
eaties, and earneſtly begg'd of the Inquiſitors to
tercede with the Emperor in his Behalf; but be-
g compell'd to ſpeak more to the Purpoſe, he de-
r'd that he once intended to diſcover the whole
actice to *Valens*, but was prevented by *Euſerius*,
ho perſuaded him that what had been foretold
as not to be the Effect of any predominant, am-
tious Paſſion, but to proceed from the abſolute
eceſſity of Fate; the ſame was confeſs'd by *Eu-*
rius upon the Rack, and ſome Letters written by
heodorus to *Hilarius* were produc'd againſt him,
which Letters he profeſs'd he did not doubt of
e Truth of the Prediction, but waited for a con-
nient Opportunity to put the Deſign in Execu-
on. After this they were remov'd, and *Eutro-*
us, who then govern'd *Aſia* as Proconſul, and is
ought to be the Author of the Abridgement of
e *Roman* Hiſtory, which he Dedicated to *Valens*,
as produc'd as privy to the Crime, but when all
eir Endeavours and Tortures to make *Paſiphithus*
e Philoſopher accuſe him were ineffectual, he was
ſmiſs'd. The Examination being over, and the
hole Diſcovery made and reported to the Empe-
r, he with one general Sentence commanded 'em
l to be put Death, which Sentence was executed
cordingly without Mercy or Diſtinction, 'till the
angmen were quite weary of their Employment.
mong thoſe that ſuffer'd was *Maximus* the Phi-
ſopher, and famous Maſter of *Julian*. He con-
ſs'd *he had been inform'd of what the Oracle had*
edicted, but out of Reſpect to his Profeſſion had
nceal'd it, tho' he had foretold that they, who
ere concern'd in the Conſultation, would loſe their
ives. He was beheaded at *Epheſus*, the Place of
his

his Nativity, by *Feſtus* Proconſul of *Aſia*, ſent thi-
ther by *Valens* for that purpoſe, tho' he then lay ſick
of an incurable Diſtemper, which in a few Da
would have ended his Life without the Interven-
on of the Hangman's Ax. In this publick Maſſacr
fell likewiſe *Diogenes*, a great Lawyer, who n
long before had been Governor in *Bithynia*, wh
was guilty of no other Crime but the Poſſeſſion o
a large Eſtate. He was a Man of noble Birth, an
excellent Wit, and profound Eloquence, and fe
univerſally lamented for his Candor, Magnificenc
and Integrity.

Theſe violent Proceedings, which ſeem'd to ex
ceed the rigour of former Proſcriptions, were high
ly diſtaſtful to the People, for which reaſon th
Emperor caus'd an infinite number of Books to b
burnt, as if they contain'd dangerous Doctrin
and treated of forbidden Arts, thinking thereby t
allay his Subjects Diſpleaſure, whereas they treate
of nothing but what related either to the Liber
Sciences or the Civil Law. In the mean time th
Provinces were fill'd with general Lamentation
the Fury of the Inquiſition ſweeping away whol
Families at once; for the Husband was no ſoon
dead, and the Houſe by Publick Order ſeiz'd, b
the Officers, appointed to examine the Goods, pr
vately convey'd among the Writings ſome pretend
Charm or ridiculous Enchantment, which being
pos'd in Court their Wives and Children were
ſeiz'd by Order of the Judges, who had no regard
Law, Religion or Conſcience; and after all the
Limbs were broken upon the Rack, they were, bo
young and old, without any Defence made, co
vey'd forth in Chairs to be Executed. Hereup
ſo great a Terror ſeiz'd upon all ſorts of Perſon
that they burnt their Libraries, renounc'd th
Learning, and choſe rather to be reputed ignora
a

d unskilful, than make the leaſt Profeſſion of Philo-
phy at ſo certain a Hazard of their Lives.

This is the Account *Ammianus* gives us of this
latter; others ſay, the Oracles foretold that the
rſt part of the Perſon's Name who was to ſucceed
alens was *Theod.* for which reaſon he not only di-
atch'd *Theodorus*, but to make void the Prediction
ut a great many more to Death, whoſe Names be-
n with thoſe Syllables, ſuch as *Theodulus*, *Theo-
ſus* and the like, without ever reflecting on that
ceiv'd Maxim, *That never any Prince can put his
ceſſor to death.*

Whilſt *Valens* was raging thus with more than Sa-
ge Fury at *Antioch*, *Valentinian*, whoſe greateſt
ault was his Cruelty, was carefully concern'd for
e Borders of the Empire in the Weſt, which he
ligently ſecur'd againſt the Incurſions of the Bar-
rous Nations; and had ſeiz'd on *Macrianus* a King
the *Germans*, a reſolute and troubleſome Prince,
d not the Intemperance of his Soldiers, who con-
ary to his expreſs Orders burnt and deſtroy'd all
at came in their way, given the King Notice of
s Approach, which he took all the Meaſures ima-
nable to conceal. He was ſcarce return'd to *Triers*
om this Expedition, before he was inform'd of
w Troubles in *Africk*.

Nubel, a petty Prince, but a Man of the greateſt
ower in *Mauritania*, dying, left ſeveral Sons be-
nd him; one of which, call'd *Zamma*, being pri-
tely made away by his Brother *Firmus*, gave a Be-
nning to a War, which enſu'd thereupon; For
amma was a Man for whom *Romanus*, of whom
e had occaſion to ſpeak before, had a great Eſteem,
d for whoſe Death he was reſolv'd to have a full
evenge. To which purpoſe he had the Matter
ry earneſtly ſollicited by his Friends in *Valentini-
n's* Court, and *Remigius* ſo manag'd it in his Be-
half,

half, that *Firmus* was not allow'd by his Agents t
offer any thing in his own Defence; which mad
the *Moor* afraid of being condemn'd unheard, and
for fear of a Surprize, put him upon his Defence
The Moors *revolt in* Africk. he therefore Revolted from the *Romans*, and aſſ
ming the Title of King ſet up for himſelf.

This News was no ſooner brought to Court, bu
Teodoſius *ſent againſt 'em.* *Theodoſius* was ſent immediately away to reduce him
if poſſible, before he had time to ſtrengthen himſe
too much. *Zozimus* ſaith, not only *Firmus* and h
Adherents revolted, but the *Moors* in general, pro
vok'd to it by *Romanus* his Tyranny, who had
miſerably harras'd and impoveriſh'd 'em; ſo that th
Emperor had great Reaſon to be diligent in a matte
which might turn to ſo ill a Conſequence: An
there was great need of ſo expert a Commander
Theodoſius, who was forc'd to make uſe of all h
Skill, to new model and regulate an Army, part
which for want of Diſcipline were grown headſtron
and licentious, and the reſt, newly arriv'd with him
ſelf from colder Climates, where unus'd to the He
of the Country, and the leſs fit for Service. B
ſides there was no good Correſpondence at firſt b
tween 'em, which with great Induſtry he ende
vour'd to procure, before he thought fit to ent
upon Action. His firſt Care upon his Arrival
Africk was to ſecure *Vincentius*, who having bee
Romanus his Deputy, had concurr'd with him in
his Inſolence and Extortion: To this Service he d
puted *Gildo*, the Brother of *Firmus*, who continu
then firm in his Obedience to the *Romans*, tho'
afterwards revolted from them in the Days of H
norius. At *Igilgitanum*, where he firſt landed,
by chance met with *Romanus*, whom for the preſe
he diſmiſs'd without any Reproach, to take care
the advanc'd Guards, but not long after, upon h
Arrival at *Sitifis*, gave Orders for his Apprehenſio

Firm

rmus hearing ſo renown'd a Commander was ſent ainſt him, began to doubt of his Succeſs, and erefore ſubmitted himſelf by Meſſengers ſent on rpoſe to him, and ask'd Pardon for what was paſt, rming *he was forc'd upon it, not by his own Will, the Injuries and Indignities he had receiv'd from ers, who provok'd him to that which he own'd could no ways juſtifie.* *Theodoſius* thought it dent to admit of his Submiſſion and Excuſe, and omis'd to pardon him, upon Receit of Hoſtages his good Behaviour for the future: After which march'd to *Panchariana*, where he had appoint- the general Rendevouz, and muſter'd his Army. ving eſtabliſh'd a good Underſtanding between n, and by his generous Carriage procur'd the Love the Inhabitants, he march'd to a Place call'd *Tu-ſuptius*, adjoining to the Mountain *Ferratus*, where refus'd to admit of *Firmus* his ſecond Embaſſie, cauſe he had not ſent the Hoſtages he had promis'd, d were agreed upon.. After which in ſeveral En-unters he defeated *Maſcizel* and *Dius*, two other *Firmus* his Brethren, having waſted the Country und about, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of a ſtrong Town, hich he made choice of for a Magazine, in caſe ſhould think fit to penetrate farther into the untry. Theſe Proceedings very much diſheart-'d *Firmus*, who thereupon ſent ſome Chriſtian Bi-ops with the Hoſtages he promis'd, to inter-de with *Theodoſius* in his Behalf. *Theodoſius* re-iv'd 'em with much Civility, and, upon a Promiſe t his Army ſhould be ſupply'd with Proviſions, miſs'd 'em with a favourable Anſwer to *Firmus*, hich encourag'd the *Moor* to make the General a ſit, having firſt ſent ſome Preſents before-hand to ke way for his Reception. As he drew near he p'd from his Horſe, being ſurpriz'd at the Luſtre the *Roman* Enſigns, and the awful Appearance of

the

the Commander. He bow'd himſelf to the Grou and with Looks full of Contrition bewail'd his Fo and Raſhneſs, and begg'd Pardon for his Offen *Theodoſius* receiv'd him very graciouſly, and hav given him all the Encouragement he expected deſir'd, diſmiſs'd him well pleas'd with his Ent tainment. At his Departure he left ſome of his n Relations behind him for Hoſtages, and promi to reſtore the Priſoners he had taken when he f revolted. Accordingly two Days after he ſurr der'd *Icoſium*, together with the military Enſig and whatever elſe he had ſeiz'd, delivering all into the Hands of the *Romans*.

At a Place call'd *Tipaſa*, *Theodoſius* met with Ambaſſadors of the *Mazices*, a Nation inhabit the Eaſtern Parts of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, who join'd with *Firmus* in the Revolt: They came ſubmit themſelves in the Name of the whole N on, and to beg Pardon for their Offence. *Th doſius* return'd 'em a very ſurly Anſwer, telling 'em *was reſolv'd to chaſtiſe their Inſolence, and pu 'em for their Perfidy to the* Romans. With Meſſage he diſmiſs'd 'em, and proceeded to *Ca rea*, a City *Firmus* had ſeiz'd upon by Stratagem the beginning of the Rebellion, and after he had moſt ruin'd it with Fire and Sword, deliver'd it as a Prey to the Barbarians. Here *Theodoſius* for preſent diſpos'd of the firſt and ſecond Legions, were to ſecure it in the beſt manner they coul gainſt any farther Attempts of the Enemy. Wh he continu'd here he found, upon a more nar Enquiry, that *Firmus* mean'd nothing leſs than Pe that he only watch'd an Opportunity of attack him at the beſt Advantage, and deſtroying him his Army. Whereupon removing to *Sugabarr* Town of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, he puniſh'd a *man* Cohort, whom he had ſeiz'd there, and

Firmus *his treacherous Dealings.*

d formerly revolted to the Enemy. From thence
march'd farther up into the Country, and fell
on the *Mazices*, who having collected themſelves
to one Body made at firſt a very vigorous Reſiſt-
ce, but were at length overthrown, and put all
the Sword, except ſome few that cry'd for Quar-
. After this he detach'd part of his Forces to
ure ſome Places that lay too much expos'd to the
rbarians, and proceeded on towards ſome other
ations that had favour'd the Revolt. In his March
was met by the *Moors*, who were pouring down
on him in great Multitudes from all Quarters,
eathing nothing but Fury and Deſtruction. Theſe
ople had been rais'd by *Cyria*, *Firmus* his Siſter,
o being a Woman of great Wealth and extraordi-
y Conduct had encourag'd 'em with the Promiſe
mighty Rewards. *Theodoſius*, who was then but
ee thouſand five hundred ſtrong, declin'd fight-
upon ſuch great Odds, for fear of loſing his
ole Army, and therefore preſerving a Medium
wixt a Fight or a Flight, he gave Ground, and
ir'd by Degrees. With this the Enemy were ſo
courag'd, that they ſtopp'd up all the Paſſages, in
der to cut off his Retreat; and had certainly de-
oy'd the whole Army, had not the unwary *Moors*
ſtook ſome of their own Countrymen for a freſh
pply coming to *Theodoſius*, who were indeed march-
to join them with ſome *Romans* at the Head,
ich gave ground to the Miſtake: Affrighted at this
y fled in great Precipitation, and left the *Romans*
liberty to make their Eſcape. *Theodoſius* made a
Retreat with the Army to a Place call'd *Mu-
anum*, where having puniſh'd ſome Deſerters, as
Warning to the reſt, he came in *February* to *Ti-
a*; where reflecting upon the Poſture of his Af-
s, he began to manage the War after another
thod, and without entring into the Field, he re-

ſolv'd to tire out the Enemy, like *Fabius* of old, by Arts and Stratagems. He diſpatch'd ſome, who were skilful in the Art of Perſuaſion, to the neighbouring Nations, to endeavour by Threats and Promiſes to draw 'em into an Aſſociation with him. Of this his politick Proceeding *Firmus* was quickly ſenſible, and knowing it the only way to ruin him, tho' he had a ſufficient Guard about his Perſon and an Army at Command, rais'd with great Induſtry and no leſs Expence, he took the Advantage of a dark Night, and retir'd with great Secreſie to the Mountains, which by reaſon of the Rocks and Precipices were in a great meaſure inacceſſible. The Multitude, now without a Head, were ſo diſheartened at his ſudden Departure, that they quickly diſpers'd themſelves, leaving their Camp to the *Romans*; upon which when *Theodoſius* had ſeiz'd it, waſted the Country at his Pleaſure, killing all who had the Courage to make any Reſiſtance, and placing ſuch Governors over the Nations through which he paſs'd as he had great Reaſon to confide in. *Firmus* found the General purſu'd him very cloſe, and therefore made all the Haſte he could from him, attended only with a few Servants in whom he could truſt, throwing away whatever things of Value he had with him, which might retard him in his Flight. He never reſted 'till he was got into the Country of the *Iſaflenſes*, who very chearfully undertook his Protection; by whoſe Aſſiſtance he often reduced the *Romans* to great Straits, over-powering 'em with ſuperior Numbers, falling upon 'em in advantageous Places, and at Times they little expected 'em. However *Theodoſius* his Fortune at length prevail'd, he overthrew the Enemy in two or three Battels, in one of which *Mazaca*, *Firmus* his Brother, was taken Priſoner, and dy'd preſently of his Wounds. *Evaſius*, a Perſon of great Authority among 'em, al-

Flor.

lorus, his Son, were burnt alive for aſſiſting the ebels, and *Firmus* himſelf with great Difficulty cap'd. Theſe Diſadvantages by degrees tir'd the *aſſenſes*, who at laſt grew weary of eſpouſing the tereſt of an unfortunate Man, and having been eary'd out by the frequent Alarms *Theodoſius* gave m, dropping off from him one by one, and left him moſt alone. In this Condition, whilſt he was nſidering of an Eſcape, he was ſeiz'd by *Igma-*, Prince of that Country, and clapp'd into Pri- n; where to avoid the Terror and Diſgrace of e Puniſhment he apprehended from the *Romans*, hang'd himſelf. *Theodoſius* receiv'd the News of Death with a great deal of Satisfaction, and wing order'd *Caſtor* and *Martinianus*, two of *Ro-nus* his Accomplices, to be burnt alive, he return'd *Sitifis*, where he was receiv'd with much Solem-y, to the univerſal Joy of the Inhabitants.

Firmus *ſeiz'd, hangs himſelf.*

Thus were the Troubles in *Africk* compos'd by e great Prudence and Induſtry of *Theodoſius*, who, er all his great Exploits, and the mighty Servi- he had render'd the Empire, was by an Order m Court beheaded at *Carthage*. We can't learn m Hiſtory the Reaſons for which he was put to ath. They who are the leaſt inclin'd to *Valens*, it was done by his Procurement; and that for r he ſhould be the Man deſign'd by the Oracle his Succeſſor, in regard of his extraordinary Me- and great Atchievements. Others ſay he ow'd Death to the malicious Suggeſtions of certain urtiers, who envy'd him the Honours he had rthily acquir'd, and could not endure any Man uld be better than themſelves. According to his n earneſt Deſire he was Baptiz'd at *Carthage* juſt fore he dy'd, and was as exemplary in his Death he had been glorious in his Life.

Theodoſius, *after all his Services, put to Death.*

The Fall of this great Man, as it was a Scandal
Valentinian's Government, ſo was it contrary to
receiv'd Maxim he uſually follow'd, which was
verely to puniſh the Common Soldiers upon
leaſt Miſdemeanour, but not ſo much as liſten to
ny Complaints offer'd againſt the Superior Office
which Remiſsneſs made 'em proud, inſolent and
rannical in the ſeveral Provinces, and gave Occa
to a great many Diſorders: As about this time
New Troubles in Illyricum.
Commander in chief in *Illyricum* had, contrary
all Laws of Hoſpitality, perfidiouſly murder'd
binius, King of the *Quadi*, at a Feaſt, to which
binius, had in civil Terms been invited by him; up
which the *Quadi*, and other Nations, broke
great Violence into the *Roman* Territories. I kn
ſome are of Opinion, that *Gabinius* was a *Rom*
and Governor of the Province, and that by his
der the King was Aſſaſſinated; but *Ammian*
whoſe Authority muſt be of greater Weight in
Caſe, tells us, *Gabinius* was the King, and
Marcellianus, Son to *Maximinus*, that cruel Inc
diary was then Governor of the Province; that
lentinian, who from the firſt time of his Advan
ment had been over ſedulous in fortifying the B
ders of the Empire, had built Forts over the
upon the Territories of the *Quadi*, as if their Co
try had been within the *Roman* Pale; that the
habitants, who were juſtly alarm'd at it, endeavou
by their Meſſengers to hinder the Proſecution of
Deſign; that *Marcellianus*, who was ſent to co
mand the Army in thoſe Parts by his Father's P
curement, return'd a very civil Anſwer, and invi
Gabinius the King, and ſome others, to a Banqu
and as he was taking his Leave, without the le
ſuſpicion of Treachery, got him to be murder'd.

A. D. 374. At this not only the *Quadi*, but the neighb
ring Nations, who made the Caſe their own, w
high

ghly incens'd, and uniting themſelves in one Bo-
, they paſs'd the *Danube* with great Fury,
l in the time of Harveſt upon the Reapers,
om they maſſacred in a cruel manner, and re-
rn'd loaden with a very great Booty; in this
nfuſion *Conſtantina*, the Daughter of *Conſtantius*,
om they were then conducting through thoſe
ts in order to be marry'd to *Gratian*, had fallen
o their Hands, had not *Meſſala*, Governor of the
ovince attending her, put her into a Chariot in
at haſte, and convey'd her with ſpeed to *Sir-
m*, twenty ſix Miles diſtant from thence. In
e mean time the Barbarians renew'd their Incur-
ns to the utter Ruin of ſeveral of the Inhabi-
ts, whom in a cruel manner they led away Cap-
e, having firſt burnt their Houſes and waſted
ir Poſſeſſions. *Sirmium* it ſelf, the Capital of
oſe Parts, ſeem'd to be in great Danger. *Pro-*
, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who the Year before
d born the Conſulſhip with *Gratian*, was then
ſident in it; a Man, tho' of Noble Birth, ſo
le acquainted with the Terrors of War, that he
s amaz'd at the Report of the bloody Slaughters
d barbarous Cruelties they had committed; the
iſe of which encreaſing every Day more, he pro-
ed himſelf with ſwift Horſes in order to a ſe-
t and ſhameful Flight; from this he was, with
ch ado, diſſuaded by thoſe about him, who re-
ſented to him how the Soldiers, whoſe Duty it
s to defend the Place, would by his Example
ovide for their own Safety, and ſo quit the City,
ich muſt unavoidably fall into the Enemy's
nds. After this ſo reaſonable a Remonſtrance he
s compell'd by Shame to ſtay, and ſo out of re-
d to his own Safety, rather than the Publick
ood, he took all imaginable Care to put the Ci-
in a Poſture of Defence, and was ſo induſtrious

therein, that the Barbarians thought not fit to attack it, but diverted their Courſe in Purſuit of *Æquitius*, whom they conceiv'd to have been the Contriver of *Gabinius* his Death; and hearing he was retir'd into the remoteſt Parts of *Valeria*, they reſolv'd to follow him; in their Way they met with two Legions, the *Pannonia* and *Maſiaca*, which were ſent to oppoſe 'em, and were of Strength ſufficient to have reſtrain'd their Fury, had they not fell into an unſeaſonable Contention between themſelves for the Honour of Precedency; this Diſpute ruin'd thoſe, who had they been united would have been invincible; for the Barbarians, who were too cunning not to be ſenſible of their Advantage without waiting for the Signal of Battel, fell in with great Fury upon the *Maſiacan* Legion, which little expecting ſo ſudden an Onſet, fell in great Numbers before they had time to take to their Arms; this encourag'd the Enemy to break in upon the *Pannonian*, which they quickly routed, killing all thoſe whom the Senſe of their Danger had not by a ſpeedy Flight ſecur'd.

Two Legions cut off by the Barbarians.

The Loſs of ſo many Men, which was entirely owing to their own Folly, was in ſome meaſure repair'd by the Succeſs of the Army, which fought under the Conduct of *Theodoſius*, Son of him lately mention'd, and Governor of *Meſia*, who with a Courage and Conduct exceeding his Years defended it againſt the Incurſions of the Barbarians, and worſted 'em ſo often, tho' they thought with Numbers to over-power him, that in Deſpair of any farther Succeſs they beg'd Pardon for what was paſs'd, and Peace for the future; which having obtain'd, they for ſome time religiouſly obſerv'd it, being kept in awe by a Supply of Soldiers ſent out of *Gaul* for the Defence of *Illyricum*. During the Diſorders in the North, the *Tiber*, through exceſ-

Ra

Rains, overflow'd its Banks to that degree, that all the lower Parts of *Rome* were laid under Water, and the Inhabitants forc'd to ſecure themſelves upon the Hills, where they had periſh'd with Hunger, had not *Claudius*, Præfect of the City, taken care to have a ſeaſonable Supply ſent 'em in Boats from the Parts adjacent. Theſe Overflowings of the *Tiber* were uſually the Forerunners of ſome Publick Calamity, to which the Empire was now ſo generally accuſtom'd, that the preſent Danger being remov'd the People had no Apprehenſions of the future.

This treacherous piece of Cruelty, exercis'd upon the Perſon of *Gabinius* in the North, was follow'd by an Act equally deteſtable in the Eaſt, where ſome Perſons, who reap'd an Advantage to themſelves from the publick Confuſions, among whom was *Terentius*, a Commander in the adjacent Parts, continually by their Letters alarm'd the Emperor with the ſiniſter Practices and ambitious Deſigns of *Para*, King of *Armenia*, conſtantly reproaching him for the Death of *Cylax* and *Artabanes*, and reviving him as an inſolent Oppreſſor of the People. Hereupon he was invited in a Royal manner to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, where when he was arriv'd he was detain'd Priſoner, without Permiſſion to go to the Emperor, or learn the reaſon of his Reſtraint. This unaccountable Proceeding made him more inſiſtive and ſollicitous, eſpecially when by ſecret Intelligence he underſtood that *Terentius* had endeavour'd by Letters to perſuade the *Roman* Governor to ſend ſome other Perſon immediately to the King of *Armenia* in his ſtead, leſt upon his Return into his own Country he ſhould, in Revenge of his ill Uſage, perſuade his Subjects no longer to adhere to the *Roman* Empire, but ſubmit themſelves to the *Perſians*, who ſtood ready upon any Condi-

tions to receive them. This made him conclude that without timely Care he ſhould be inevitably deſtroy'd, and therefore he reſolv'd upon a ſpeedy Flight, which he attempted with the Aſſiſtance of three hundred of his own Subjects in whom he could rely, and who very earneſtly perſuaded him to it. They took care to ſupply him with Horſes fit for his Purpoſe, and towards the Evening watching their Opportunity they ſet forward together guided more by their Courage than Conduct, as is uſual with Men in any hazardous or emergent Exigency. They were not got clear of the Suburbs before the Governor of the Province overtook 'em, and finding it impoſſible to ſtop him by Force, he endeavour'd by Perſuaſions to detain him; but he found him too reſolute to be prevail'd upon, and therefore deſiſted for fear of drawing his own Life into Danger by too obſtinate an Entreaty. Preſently after he was overtaken by a whole Legion, ſent on Purpoſe to hinder his Eſcape, but he fac'd about with ſo much Reſolution, and charg'd 'em with ſo deſperate a Courage, that they made more haſte to fly from him, than they had done to approach him; after this he proceeded without any Diſturbance, and travelling Night and Day for two Days together he at laſt reach'd the *Euphrates*, which he paſs'd with much Difficulty, and after a ſhort Repoſe purſu'd his Journey with extraordinary Diligence. *Valens* having notice of his Eſcape concluded he would infallibly fall off from him, and therefore ſent a thouſand Archers under the Command of two Principal Officers to Waylay him, and bring him back: They being well acquainted with the Country, through which he wander'd an utter Stranger, travell'd through more compendious Roads, and overtook him: Having divided their Forces they ſeiz'd on two Paſſes that

les diſtant from each other, at one of which y thought themſelves certain of ſurpriſing him. t being inform'd of his Danger by a Traveller, o was coming that Way, he took a By-Path, d piercing through a thick Wood eſcap'd the nbuſcade, and got ſafe to his own Kingdom, ilſt the *Romans*, who waited a long time for ir Prey, were ſufficiently laugh'd at for their ins. This Diſappointment was a great Vexation *Valens*, who grew every Day more and more re- v'd upon his Deſtruction, and ſent private Or- s to *Trajan*, who commanded the *Roman* Forces arter'd in *Armenia*, by all means to effect it. *jan*, in Obedience to his Inſtructions, readily dertook it, and by degrees wrought himſelf into much Credit with the King, by frequenting his ble, and producing Letters from *Valens* full of preſſions of Kindneſs to *Para*, that he made no uple of accepting of a Dinner at his Houſe, to hich *Trajan* had in a ſolemn manner invited him. e was receiv'd with the higheſt Reſpect, and en- tain'd in a Royal manner, and after he had unk him up to a high pitch, *Trajan*, pretending me neceſſary Occaſions, withdrew, and immedi- ly ſent in a Villain provided for the purpoſe, who t the young Prince in pieces as he vainly endea- ur'd to defend himſelf, the reſt of the Gueſts ing in great Conſternation from ſo bloody a- nquet.

Para, *King of* Armenia, *treacherouſly murder'd.*

This inhoſpitable Proceeding was a great Affli- ion to *Sapor*, King of *Perſia*, who conceiv'd he d loſt in *Para* a firm Friend and faithful Allie, r ſuch he made no doubt but in time he ſhould ve found him; on the other ſide the *Romans* ga- er'd Courage, at which he was not a little diſ- ay'd, and therefore he thought it the ſafeſt way propoſe by his Ambaſſadors to *Valens*, that *Ar-*

menia,

menia, which had been the Cauſe of ſo m
Confuſions, might be entirely ruin'd, or at le
that the *Roman* Garriſons might be recall'd out
Iberia, and *Aſpacures*, whom he had advanc
might be permitted to Reign there without a
Diſturbance. To this *Valens* anſwer'd, That
was reſolv'd to ſtand to the late Diviſion of *Iber*
and ſee the Treaty punctually obſerv'd; and aft
ſeveral Meſſages and Remonſtrances on one ſide a
the other, the Emperor ſent away *Victor* Gener
of the Horſe, and *Urbicius* Governor of *Meſopot*
mia, to *Sapor*; who were to aſſure him, *That unle*
he ſuffer'd the Armenians *to be at their own Libe*
ty, and forbore moleſting the Roman *Garriſon in*
Fort call'd Sauromaces, *he ſhould be forc'd up*
ſuch Meaſures as would be no ways agreeable
him. Theſe Inſtructions were juſt and prude
but the Ambaſſadors went beyond their Commiſ
on, and imprudently accepted of ſome ſmall Ter
tories that had been offer'd 'em in *Armenia*, a
without effecting any thing elſe they return'd hom
They were follow'd by another Ambaſſador fro
Perſia, whom the Emperor kindly receiv'd, and e
tertain'd him with much Magnificence, tho' all h
Offers were rejected, and *Valens* prepar'd to aſſau
Perſia with three Armies at once in the beginni
of the Spring. *Sapor*, thus diſappointed of his E
pectation, was highly exaſperated, but concealin
his Indignation, he gave Orders to his Chief Of
cers by Force to recover thoſe Territories the *R*
man Ambaſſadors had lately poſſeſs'd themſelves
in the Name of the Emperor, and cut off, if poſ
ble, the Garriſon in *Sauromaces*, which Orders th
executed accordingly. Of all this *Valens* was i
form'd, but found himſelf unable to reſent it as h
ought; the Empire being threaten'd by a gener
Invaſion of the *Gothiſh* Nation, to a Narration
which

which the Courſe of the Hiſtory will in a ſhort time conduct us.

All this while *Valentinian* was employ'd in Building Forts upon the *Rhine*, and waſting the *German* Territories, in which he was often oppos'd with great Vigour by *Macrianus*, King of the Country, a haughty reſolute Prince, but was this Year diverted upon an Information that the Barbarians were in great Numbers invading *Illyricum*, whoſe Inſolence he was reſolv'd to chaſtiſe, and therefore at an Enterview between him and *Macrianus* upon the *Rhine* near *Mentz*, he concluded a Peace, which the latter kept inviolable 'till his Death. After this he return'd to *Triers*, where he ſpent the Winter in concerting the Meaſures he was to take in order to his Expedition early in the Spring into *Illyricum*, which had been this Year miſerably waſted by the *Sarmatæ* and the *Quadi*; accordingly he advanc'd thither as ſoon as the Winter was over, and was met in the Way by Ambaſſadors from the *Sarmatæ*, who in a very ſubmiſſive manner throwing themſelves at his Feet, deſir'd him to entertain a more favourable Opinion of their Nation, who he would find upon Examination were guilty of none of thoſe heavy Accuſations that were urg'd againſt them. After they had often affirm'd the ſame thing, he told 'em, That as yet he would determine nothing, but ſuſpend his Judgment 'till his Arrival into thoſe Parts, that were ſaid to have been ſo highly injur'd by 'em. After this he proceeded on to *Cornuntum*, at this Day call'd *Haimberg*, an old decay'd Town of *Illyricum*, ſeated upon the *Danube*, and very convenient for the Defence of the Country. From hence he detach'd *Merobaudes* and *Sebaſtian* with a Party of Foot to waſte the Enemy's Borders, and he himſelf remov'd with great Expedition to a Place call'd *Acincum*, from whence he

he paſs'd his Men over the River, and enter'd in
the Territories of the *Quadi*, who from the Mou
tains, whither they had retir'd with their Wive
and Children upon the firſt Notice of his A
proach, in great Conſternation beheld the Moti
of his Army. After his detach'd Parties h
ſcower'd the Plains, killing all they met ſtraggli
behind, and burnt their Houſes, he return'd
Safety with his whole Army to *Acincum*, whe
he continu'd 'till the Year was almoſt ſpent, de
ring to find out ſome convenient Winter-Quart
in thoſe frozen Tracts, but could meet with no
ſo proper as *Sabaria*, call'd at preſent *Sarvar*, th
he found that far from being convenient, or ſuit
ble to his Wiſhes, and therefore he continu'd h
March along the River ſide 'till he came to *Breg
tio*, where he was admoniſh'd of his approachi
End by ſeveral Omens; for a few Days befo
Blazing Stars were ſeen, which in *Ammianus* h
Opinion forerun the Downful of great Perſons.
Sirmium, the Palace, Court and Forum were bur
by Lightning; and whilſt he was at *Sabaria*
Owl perch'd upon the top of his Bath, and was n
to be frighted or forc'd away by the Multitud
who aſſaulted it very earneſtly with Darts a
Stones. As he was marching from that Place,
reſolv'd to paſs out at the ſame Gate he enter
intending to ſignifie by it that he ſhould quick
return in Safety to *Gaul*; but as they were cleari
it of ſome Rubbiſh, which through a long Negle
it had contracted, the *Portcullis* fell, nor could
the Endeavours they us'd raiſe it again, ſo that
ter they had loſt much Time about it, he w
forc'd to go out at another Gate. The Night befo
he dy'd he thought he ſaw his Wife, who w
then abſent, ſitting by him in a melancholy Poſtu
with her Hair diſhevell'd, and in a mournful Hab
whi

Several Omens preceding the Death of Valentinian.

hich *Ammianus* fancies was his Genius, then in at diſconſolate manner forſaking him. In the orning he appear'd with a heavy, dejected Coun-nance, and his Horſe, whilſt he was going to ount, bounding with ungovernable Fury, as if it 'dain'd to receive him, he commanded his Quer-'s right Hand to be cut off, becauſe he unwil-gly gave him a Blow as he was ſtruggling to place n in the Saddle; this was agreeable to the Cruel-of his Nature, and had been undoubtedly exe-ted upon his faithful Servant, had not *Cerealis*, after of the Horſe, at the Hazard of his own ſe deferr'd the Execution.

After this came the Ambaſſadors from the *Qua-* humbly ſuing for a Peace, and an Act of Ob-ion for what was paſt; which that they might in me meaſure deſerve, they offer'd a Supply of Sol-ers, and ſuch other Matters as they thought at t time agreeable to the Emperor's Affairs. *Va-tinian* having conſider'd of the Motion, thought it ſonable to give 'em Audience, and they were reupon admitted into the Conſiſtory, where they re commanded to declare what they had to ſay. hey, with their Bodies bent to the Ground in to-n of Submiſſion, declar'd upon Oath, *that the e Devaſtations were not to be conſider'd as a pub-k Act of the whole Nation, but committed by e Free-Booters living upon the Borders, without Knowledge or Conſent of the chief Men in the ntry; and that they had been provok'd to it by Fort lately built upon their Territories by the peror's Order, contrary to the Rules of Juſtice, the* Roman *Intereſt. Valentinian* was extremely ens'd at this Diſcourſe, and in a high Paſſion braided their whole Nation as thankleſs and un-teful, vowing to be ſeverely reveng'd upon 'em; t in the midſt of his Diſcourſe ſunk down upon his

his Seat like one ſtruck from Heav'n, and ſeem'd
have loſt both Life and Voice together. The
bout him convey'd him carefully into his Cham
and laid him on his Bed, where he was ſeiz'd w
Convulſion Fits, and violent Contorſions of
The Death of Valentinian. Limbs, in the Agonies of which he breath'd
his laſt, in the five and fiftieth Year of his A
and twelfth of his Reign, *A. D.* 375. after
third Conſulſhip of *Gratian* and of *Æquitius*:
tho' *Auſonius* has aſſign'd *Pontius Paulinus* for C
ſul this Year, yet it is agreed on all Hands,
the Wars, with which the Empire was attack'd
threaten'd on every ſide, prevented that An
Deſignation.

Various are the Accounts of this Emperor's Dea
even *Ammianus* is inconſiſtent with himſelf, or at
his Interpreters have made him ſo. Some will h
it, that he imputes his Death to the ſudden St
page of the Blood, others to the violent Guſh
of it forth, which agrees better with the reſt of
Text, and other Authors who have written of
ſame Subject; who have left us this Account of
That after he had given the Ambaſſadors Audien
he was affronted at the Meanneſs of their Equip
and their beggarly Appearance, demanding with ſo
Heat, *if their Country afforded Men of no be
Quality, that were more fit to appear before hi*
He was anſwer'd, that *he had now in his Preſe
the very beſt of the Nation*; whereupon he fell
to a violent Paſſion, vehemently lamenting his o
and the Misfortune of the *Roman* People, *who h
to do with ſo beggarly a Nation, that not con
to live within their own Bounds, had the Arroga
to riſe up in Arms, and affront the Majeſty of
Empire.* This he deliver'd with ſo much Violen
that, according to *Socrates*, he open'd every V
in his Body, and brake the Arteries aſunder,

which iſſu'd ſo large a Flux of Blood, that he
ntly dy'd, at a Caſtle call'd at that time *Berge-*
ſuppos'd to be what we now call *Gran.*
hus dy'd *Valentinian*, after a Reign of twelve
rs wanting an hundred Days, during which he
y'd himſelf diligently to the Defence of the
ers, the reinforcing of his Army, building of
Forts where any were wanting, and repairing
old ones upon the *Rhine*, ſo that not an Enemy
d paſs undiſcover'd into the *Roman* Territories.
was generally ſucceſsful againſt the *Germans*, and
a Stop to the Devaſtations made by the *Saxons*,
ople no leſs greedy of Blood than Plunder, whom
forc'd firſt to ſue for Peace, and afterwards by
ratagem that had more of Profit than Honour
, procur'd them all to be cut off. By his Lieu-
nts in this Iſland he ſettled the Affairs of *Bri-*
; he ſuppreſs'd *Valentine* a *Pannonian* Exile, who
deſigning to diſturb the Publick Tranquility,
re it was well known what he was attempting:
reſtor'd the Peace of *Africk*, after it had been
ently ſhock'd by the Inſurrection of *Firmus* and
Barbarians, and he was in a fair way of effect-
the ſame in *Illyricum*, had he not been ſudden-
natch'd off by Death.

His Cha-racter.

From what hath been ſaid, the Reader will eaſily
n to himſelf a Character of this Prince, and
t own that his greateſt Fault was Cruelty; which
attended by another of no leſs Conſequence,
to which Men of his implacable vindictive
nper are ſeldom ſubject, an Over-credulity, which
os'd him to the Artifices of his mercenary Cour-
, who miſerably impos'd on his Underſtanding,
ing him up from the Acceſs of Perſons of Learn-
and Fidelity. He was covetous to a high De-
e, a Vice ſome Excuſe in him from the Neceſ-
the State lay under by reaſon of the Wars in
Perſia,

Perſia, which had very much exhauſted the Publ
Treaſury, and put him upon many violent and
legal ways of raiſing Mony. He had ſo high an
pinion of his own Accompliſhments, that he ha
all who were eminent for Learning, Riches, No
lity, Valour, or ſo much as a genteel Fancy in t
Dreſs. He pretended himſelf a great Enemy to
Cowards, and yet appear'd timorous and deje
upon any trivial Occaſion or groundleſs Rep
In the Choice of his Judges he generally had reg
to Men of Temper and Æquanimity, but if he
cidentally promoted any of a cruel relentleſs Di
ſition, he would preſently cry out they were ſo
ny *Caſſii* or *Lycurgi*, and encourag'd them in t
rigorous Proceedings. Theſe are the greateſt
ces and Imperfections with which this Emper
charg'd, and are abundantly out-weigh'd by
Virtues, which ſeem'd to render him worthy
high Sphere in which he mov'd. He may be
to have been a Father to the Provinces, for wh
Safety he provided in the many Forts and Ca
he built upon the Borders, at the ſame time ea
them as much as he could in the Abatement of t
Taxes. He might have paſs'd for an exact Obſe
of Military Diſcipline, had he not been too pa
to the General Officers, who abus'd his Favo
and gave a Beginning to thoſe Commotions in
tain, *Africk*, and *Illyricum*. Tho' he had m
Relations, who upon his Advancement expe
mighty Preferments, yet he indulg'd none of
any farther than conſiſted with the publick Inte
preferring none to any conſiderable Poſts, his
ther *Valens* except, whom in a time of Dange
aſſum'd for his Collegue, and with whom he rei
in perfect Concord. He was excellent at the In
tion of new Sorts of Arms; and having from
Youth been inur'd to Hardſhip, he knew admir

ll how to manage, govern and conduct an Army. was very careful in the Diſpoſal of the greateſt ices, ſuffering no Places to be bought or ſold ing his Government, or any to be preferr'd to Command of a Province, who were concern'd he Management of the publick Mony. In his tertainments he was ſplendid but not profuſe, in Perſon comely, in his Converſation agreeable, of ſt Memory and ready Elocution, knowing well to accommodate himſelf to all Times and Oc-ons. As he was very chaſte himſelf, ſo he en-vour'd by his Example to propagate that Virtue ughout his Court, and where-ever he came. As is Religion, he conſtantly adher'd to the Or-dox Faith, in that Diverſity of Opinions which hat time divided the World: But avoiding all utes, he ſuffer'd the reſt of his Subjects to fol-their own Perſuaſions without any Moleſtation. is blam'd by the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, for per-ing his Brother to perſecute with ſo much Ri-the Catholick Believers; but we may ſay in behalf, that the Condition of his Affairs would allow him in Prudence openly to oppoſe *Valens*, the Heat of their Diſputes had kindled up a l War in the Empire, which at that time would libly have deſtroy'd it.

VII. *Valentinian* being dead, his Body with due was prepar'd to be ſent to *Conſtantinople*, there e depoſited among his Imperial Predeceſſors, ſt the great Officers of the Court were under ſie Apprehenſions, and uncertain what an Ac-nt ſo extraordinary might produce, eſpecially who knew the inconſtant and haughty Tem-of the *Gallick* Soldiers, had great reaſon to be d of ſome unſeaſonable Commotions; and the r becauſe *Gratian*, who knew nothing of what

GRATIAN. A. D. 375.

had happen'd was then abſent at *Triers*, where hi
Father had order'd him to reſide during this Expe
dition. After ſome Conſultation between themſelve
they agreed to ſend for *Merobaudes* in the Empe
ror's Name, who had the Command of thoſe So
diers, to come to him, as if he had been ſtill living
Merobaudes, either ſuſpecting what had happen'd,
being inform'd of it by the Meſſenger who was ſe
to him, pretended to the Soldiers that Orders we
come from the Emperor to lead 'em back to t
Rhine, where the Barbarians began again to be up
Arms; and purſuant to his Inſtructions, he ſent
baſtian far out of the way, who was a Man of
quiet eaſie Temper, but in great Eſteem with t
Army, and therefore the more to be fear'd in
dangerous a Conjuncture. When he arriv'd at t
Camp it was reſolv'd in Council, that *Valentini*
the Son of the Deceas'd, ſhould be declar'd Emp
ror. He was then at an hundred Miles diſtance,
ving in a Village call'd *Murocincta* with his Mot
Juſtina, *Valentinian*'s ſecond Wife, whom he m
ry'd after the Deceaſe of the Empreſs *Severa*;
that *Socrates* his Story muſt fall to the Ground, w
accuſes *Valentinian* of Polygamy, and makes him
thor of a Law, whereby every Man had the Lib
ty of having two Wives at a time if he was ſo
clin'd. He tells us, *Juſtina*, whilſt ſhe was a V
gin, became acquainted with the Empreſs *Seve*
who admitted her into the ſame Bath with her
where ſhe could not but ſee and admire her ex
ordinary Beauty, which ſhe extoll'd in a high m
ſure to her Husband *Valentinian*, who immedia
marry'd her, without divorcing *Severa* the Mot
of *Gratian*, whom he had aſſociated with him
the Imperial Dignity but juſt before. As he is
ſtaken in the matter of Fact, ſo is he in the Qua
of *Juſtina*, who was no Virgin, but *Magne*

e Tyrant's Widow. Beſides this *Valentinian* ſhe d thee Daughters by the Emperor, two of which 'd Virgins, but the third, call'd *Galla*, was af- rwards marry'd to *Theodoſius* the Great.

Valentinian was then a Child not above four ears of Age, ſaith *Ammianus*, tho' others affirm was nine, and that he was born in *Febr.* 366, *Gra-* and *Dagalaiphus* being Conſuls, in which *Ida-*, the Author of the *Alexandrine* Chronicle, *The-ſius*, and moſt of our Modern Writers after 'em, ree: But if *Ammianus* is right in his Account, muſt allow that there were two young Princes the ſame Name, and that he who was born in 366, s not the ſame with him who was created *Augu-* in 375. This will appear more than probable, we conſider that not only *Ammianus*, but *Victor*, *naras* and *Zozimus* affirm, that *Valentinian*, who s made Emperor at his Father's Death, was but r Years old, or thereabouts: *Nicephorus* ſaith he d when he was twenty, and it's agreed on all nds that he was kill'd, *An. Dom.* 392, which ld not poſſibly be, if he had been born in 366. Word, *Valentinian Junior*, who was born in , was Conſul together with *Aurelius Victor* in . Now had he been the ſame with him who ſuc-ded his Father in the Empire, and was created nſul with *Valens* three Years after, the Year had n diſtinguiſh'd in the Tables by his *Second Con-ip*, which it is not, tho' *Helvicus* in his Chro-gy has follow'd the general Opinion. From all ich it appears, as we obſerv'd before, that there e two of the ſame Name, one the Son of *Valens*, other of *Valentinian*.

ut to return to the Courſe of the Hiſtory: Ac-ling to the Reſolution taken in Council, *Cerea-* Uncle to this young Prince, was ſent with all pedition for him; who conducted him to the

Valentinian, *Son to the late Emperor, declared* Auguſtus.

Camp, where in a ſolemn manner he was declar'd Emperor, the ſixth Day after his Father's Death. Moſt Men concluded *Gratian* would be highly offended at a Promotion confirm'd without his Knowledge or Conſent, who notwithſtanding liv'd ever after in a very peaceable manner with him; behaving himſelf in this matter like a prudent Man, or rather cheriſhing his Brother with too much Fondneſs and Reſpect.

The Hunns *invade the Empire.*

In the mean time a cruel Storm began to gather to an Head in the Eaſt, which not only occaſion'd the Death of *Valens*, but fell in a violent manner upon the whole Empire. It was firſt rais'd by the *Hunns*, a Nation almoſt unknown to the *Romans* then, inhabiting that Part of *Scythia* which lay upon the Ocean beyond the Fenns of *Mœotis*, call'd at preſent *Tartary*. They were a fierce ſavage People ignorant of the uſe of Fire, feeding altogether on Roots of Herbs, or ſuch Fleſh as was chafed between their Thighs and their Horſes Sides; without Houſes, wandring from Place to Place, ſpreading themſelves ſometimes on the Mountains, at other deſcending into the Vallies, and living like Brutes on whom Nature through a Miſtake had conferr'd Human Shapes; from their Infancy accuſtom'd to endure the Inconveniences of Cold and Hunger, having their Cheeks mangled as ſoon as they were born to prevent Beards, in the want of which they reſemble Eunuchs, but in Appearance were more terrible and ghaſtly. Their Cloaths were either Linnen, or the Skins of a ſort of Mice, which they tack'd together, and wore at home and abroad, both wake and aſleep, without any Change, 'till they dropp'd aſunder. Their Legs were cover'd with Goat-skins, and their Feet with an ill-ſhapen unfaſhionable Shoe, which cramp'd 'em up when they walk'd, and render'd 'em unfit for Foot-Service

†

eir Genius inclining 'em more to the Horſe, in
hich manner of Engagements they excell'd, fighting
ally in Parties drawn up like Wedges; quick in
eir Onſets, diſorderly in their Retreats, furious
d diſcompos'd in their Purſuits, tho' they always
oided attacking the Camp of the Enemy. Ha-
g no King they liv'd under no Government, fol-
ving the Conduct of their Nobility (if they had
ſuch among 'em) whom they obey'd no longer
n they thought fit. They were no more to
truſted in Times of Peace than in War, begin-
g the one without any Provocation, and con-
ding the other without any Forecaſt. They
d no Senſe of Religion, nor that Child of Igno-
ce, Superſtition, but liv'd in common with a
miſcuous uſe of Women, with whom they for
moſt part coupled openly, or if at any time
y retir'd, their Quivers were hung out to let
ir Neighbours know what they were doing, that
y might meet with no Diſturbance.

Theſe *Hunns* were near Neighbours to the *Alani*,
o inhabited *Scythia* beyond *Tanais*, a River by
ich *Europe* is ſeparated from *Aſia*; like the *Hunns*,
the reſt of the *Scythians*, they wander'd up
down in their Waggons, never Tilling their
ound, but feeding on raw Fleſh and Milk; they
ve their Cattle in great Herds before 'em, and
en they were arriv'd at any pleaſant Paſturage,
h which the Country abounded, there they
tinu'd 'till it was all conſum'd, and then they
nt forward with their moveable Cities, 'till they
with freſh Forage, accounting every Place they
e at their Native Home. A People impatient
Eaſe, continually buſied in Wars and Dangers,
eming him only happy who dy'd in the Field,
reviling them as idle and degenerate Perſons
om any Accident had deſtroy'd, or Age led

down in Peace to the Grave. All their Religio
conſiſted in a naked Sword, which they ſtuck fa
into the Ground, and worſhipp'd under the Nam
of *Mars*, the Great Protector of the Regions the
inhabited; in moſt reſpects they reſembled th
Hunns, only they appear'd to have been of a mo
civiliz'd Converſation. They were ſaid to have
ſtrange way of foretelling things to come; they lo
a Bough from off a bearing Tree, which they c
into ſeveral Pieces; theſe Pieces they diſtinguiſh
by certain Marks, throwing 'em at random upo
White Linnen Garment; after which the Pri
if it was a Publick Concern, if not, the Maſter
the Houſhold, invoking the Deity they worſhipp
took each Piece up in a ſolemn manner thrice to
ther, and from the Coherence the Marks before i
printed bore each to the other, they collected th
Divination. The name of Slavery was not kno
among 'em, being all accounted of Noble Birt
and thoſe Perſons had the Adminiſtration of th
Affairs as their Officers and Judges, who were
moſt Experience in the Wars.

Into the Territories of theſe People did
Hunns break with great Violence, and hav
ſpoil'd the Country, and laid all waſte before '
they forc'd thoſe of the Nation, who had out-li
their Cruelty, to enter into an Alliance with '
by which means having reinforc'd themſelves, t
fell with incredible Impetuoſity upon the *Got*
Nations, aſſaulting firſt the Dominions of *Er*
rich or *Ermanaric*, who tho' a Martial Prince,
ſtruck with Conſternation at ſo unexpected an
tempt, put an end to his Troubles by a volun
Death; after this they fell upon *Athanaric*,
who had aſſiſted *Procopius* in his late Uſurpa
who had reſolv'd to ſtand upon his Guard, and
prepar'd for a vigorous Reſiſtance; but the *H*
fa

lling upon him unawares, he was forc'd to fly to
he Mountains, after he had loſt ſome of his Men;
om whence he paſs'd in great Conſternation down
the *Danube*, where he rais'd Fortifications to de-
nd himſelf from any farther Attempts. The
Hunns, whoſe great Booty render'd 'em incapa-
le of any haſty Purſuit, were in the mean time
rown ſo terrible to the reſt of the *Goths*, that they
ought of removing from a Storm which they ſaw
lling irreſiſtibly upon 'em, and reſolv'd upon
race, both for that it was a fertile Country, and
as ſeparated by the *Iſter* from thoſe Tracts which
y expos'd to the Fury of the *Hunns*. Having
erefore ſeiz'd on the Banks of the *Danube*, under
e Conduct of *Alavivus*, they ſent their Orators
Valens, by whom, in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner,
ey begg'd leave to be admitted into *Thrace*, where
ey promis'd to live peaceably in Subjection to the
mpire, to whom they would be ready to ſend
d upon all Occaſions.

Tho' the Rumour of theſe ſtrange Commotions
the Nothern Parts ought to have ſtruck all Men
ith Admiration, as well as Terror, yet they were
firſt but little regarded at Court, which hitherto
e Report of any Wars in thoſe remote Regions
uld hardly reach before they had been finiſh'd,
d the Fear of 'em was over; but when they ſaw
e Ambaſſadors from the *Goths*, and knew the Sub-
nce of their Embaſſie, all Wiſe Men were ſur-
iz'd to hear ſuch vaſt Multitudes of Barbarians
ould hover about the Banks of the *Iſter*, driven
t of the Country by People more barbarous than
emſelves. And yet there were not wanting ſome
cophants about the Perſon of the Emperor, who
d the Impudence to flatter him, and extol his
od Fortune upon this Occaſion, which had un-

expectedly brought him a perpetual Supply all Soldiers, with which he could be furniſh'd at his Pleaſure out of *Thrace*, and thereby ſave the Expence of new Levies, to the no ſmall Benefit of his Treaſury: The imaginary Proſpect of this Advantage made him, without any farther Conſideration, give Order for their immediate Tranſportation, which was done with ſo much Care and Diligence, as if it had been a Sin to leave any Perſon, who was to be concern'd in the Subverſion of the *Roman* Empire, behind: For ſeveral Nights and Days together, without any Intermiſſion, did they come over in ſuch Multitudes, that they, who were appointed to ſee the Buſineſs effected, were in no manner able to compute their Numbers, exceeding, ſaith *Ammianus*, the Sands upon the *Libyan* Shore. Deſtruction follow'd cloſe upon their Heels, and ſpread it ſelf like a Contagion, infecting what it fed on. But what contributed as much as any thing to the Deſolations that follow'd ſoon after, was the Corruption and Inſufficiency of the Governors Commanding then in the Provinces, who by their Covetouſneſs baſely eluded the Emperor's Orders, who had ordain'd that none ſhould be admitted 'till they had been firſt diſarm'd; but theſe Officers, more intent upon their own private Gain and Satisfaction, ſuffer'd themſelves to be impos'd upon by the Barbarians, who corrupted 'em with Preſents of their fineſt Women, moſt beautiful Boys, and ſtouteſt Slaves, and ſo were permitted to come over arm'd as they thought fit themſelves. *Eunapius* ſaith likewiſe, that the Emperor's Intent was to have the Children of both Sexes firſt tranſported, who were to be diſpos'd as Hoſtages throughout the Provinces of the Empire, and Pledges of their good Behaviour, which prudent Deſign was unhappily

The Goths *admitted into* Thrace.

ppily fruſtrated by the mercenary Conduct of oſe treacherous Officers.

This memorable Paſſage, which ſo largely con-buted to the Downfal of the Empire, happen'd hen *Valens*, the fifth time, and *Valentinian* were onſuls, in the laſt Year of the 288th *Olympiad*, the 28th Year of *Rome*, and 28 Years after the firſt Di-ion of the Empire, *An. Dom.* 376.

CHAP.

CHAP II.

From the Admiſſion of the Goths *into* Thrace, *to the Death of* Theodoſius *the Great.*

Containing about the Space of 19 *Years.*

A. D. 376. I. IT's obſervable that a State ſubſiſts and flouriſh no longer, than whilſt it cultivates and improves the Means to which it ow'd its Riſe and Progreſs. The firſt *Romans* were plain, hearty and ſincere, they went to the Wars with Honour, and return'd with Succeſs, and their very Enemies reap'd the Benefit of their Victories as well as themſelves; for their Virtue always protected those whom their Valour had ſubdu'd. They fought for Dominion, but not for Tyranny, and choſe rather to be Lov'd than Fear'd; this made the Provinces chearful in their Submiſſion, hearty in their Contributions, and unwavering in their Obedience. In a Word, it is not ſo much to be admir'd, that from ſo ſmall a Beginning they ſhould riſe to ſuch a ſtupendious Height, as that ſo many Qualities productive of a real Greatneſs ſhould be found united in one People, diffuſing themſelves with an exact a Tenor throughout every Part, as to make up the very Life and Being of the whole. How much the *Romans*, who liv'd in the Age we are now writing of, were fallen off from that Original Perfection, I leave the Reader to imagine; they were grown Effeminate, Factious, Proud and Inconſiderate; the Court was become debauch'd, the Camp licentious, and the Commonalty obſtinate and mu-

tinou

ous; they were ſo far from puſhing on to new onqueſts, that they were not able to maintain and fend their Hereditary Acquiſitions; the Con-tution was grown old and crazy, and had loſt ſo uch of its natural Vigour, that it muſt in courſe ve dropp'd of it ſelf, without receiving an Enemy o its Bowels, that cruelly ſhook and tore it into eces; but as ſome of her ancient Citizens choſe provoke Death by a Sword or Poiſon, rather an wait its leiſure under the Fatigues of a pain-l lingring Diſtemper; ſo that State, grown old and firm, may be ſaid to have choſen a violent Sub-erſion, rather than a natural Diſſolution.

As it was the greateſt Piece of madneſs to receive many Barbarians into the Heart of the Empire, it was an equal madneſs to provoke and exaſperate m after they had been admitted. *Lupicinus* and *Maximus* were at this time Commanders in Chief roughout *Thrace*, and by their pernicious Practi-s haſten'd the Ruin of their Country. The Bar-rians ſtood in want of all manner of Proviſions, d being bitterly pinch'd with Hunger made eir Applications to theſe Officers, who got all e Dogs they could together, and exchang'd 'em r ſo many Men, amongſt whom were the Sons of e firſt Nobility, whom with the reſt they took r their Slaves; beſides *Lupicinus* had dealt trea-herouſly with them in ſeveral Reſpects, betraying s Truſt, and oppreſſing 'em upon every Occaſion. heſe Practices irritated a People, eaſie enough to provok'd, and made 'em catch at the firſt Opportu-ty they met with to be reveng'd, with which *Lu-cinus* himſelf preſented 'em not long after. The hief Captains of theſe People were *Alavivus* and *itigern*, Men of Courage and Reſolution, who ad formerly acted with much Vigour and Animoſi-y againſt the Empire: Theſe Commanders *Lupi-*

cinus

cinus invited to Dinner at *Marcianoplis*, where h
then reſided; and leſt the ordinary ſort at the ſam
time ſhould preſs upon him for Proviſions, of whic
they ſtood in great need, he order'd the Guard t
keep 'em off from the Gates of the City, whithe
they deſir'd to be admitted as Friends, to buy the
Neceſſaries; betwixt theſe People and the *Roma*
there happen'd a ſharp Diſpute, in which the *R*
mans were ſlain and ſtripp'd by the Barbarians. *L*
picinus was no ſooner acquainted with it, but h
caus'd all the Attendants, waiting upon the tw
Princes, in the midſt of their Mirth to be murder'
of which when they without the Walls were in
form'd, they fell into a great Rage, vowing all man
ner of Revenge, concluding their Kings would b
detain'd Priſoners by the Governor. Of this *Fri*
tigern, who indeed was afraid he ſhould be ſecur
as an Hoſtage, made a good uſe; for he earneſtl
preſs'd to be diſmiſs'd, that he might compoſe and pa
cifie his Solders, whereupon he was diſcharg'd toge
ther with *Alavivus*; for by this time *Lupicinus* was
overcharg'd with Wine that he knew not what h
did; whilſt they made haſte to their Countrymen
to whom they came unexpected, and were receiv
with great Joy and Satisfaction. This Advantag
they all agreed to improve, and conſulted togethe
how they might beſt raiſe a War, and be reveng'
upon the *Romans*. They were preſently join'd b
all the *Gothick* Nations, who fell with great Fur
upon the Country, waſting all with Fire and Sword
Lupicinus, alarm'd at ſo dangerous an Inſurrection
march'd out againſt 'em with more Fury than Di
ſcretion, and drew up his Army with a Reſolution
to engage the Barbarians, who, watching their Op
portunity, attack'd the *Romans* with much Bravery
cutting moſt of them off together with their Com
manders, whilſt the General with great Precipita
tion

The Romans de*feated by the* Goths.

n fled back into the City. This Defeat was at-
nded with a greater Miſchief, for the Barbarians
re hereby ſupply'd with *Roman* Arms, and ra-
g'd the Country round about without any Oppo-
ion. And as great Armies very often occaſion a
mine and Peſtilence, ſo at this time both the one
d the other rag'd very violently in many Parts of
e Empire.

These Advantages made the *Goths* more bold and A. D.
tragious, for not content to be Maſters of the 377.
eld, they went and laid Siege to *Adrianople*, be- *They be-*
g ſome time before join'd by a Body of Forces un- *ſiege* Adri-
r the Conduct of *Sueridus* and *Colias*, two Princes anople.
their own Nation, who with their Troops had
en long ſince admitted by the Emperor, and ap-
inted to quarter near that City; and laying hold
this Opportunity, were, upon ſome ſmall Provo-
tions receiv'd from the Townſmen, reſolv'd to run
e Fortune of their Countrymen. They had not
en long before the Town, before they found the
fficulty of their Undertaking, and were advis'd
Fritigern to quit the Siege, and content themſelves
th the Plunder of the wealthy Province, where
ey were like to meet with no Oppoſition, and
hich would turn more to their Advantage than a
ar with Walls. Leaving therefore a ſufficient Force
block up the Town, they rang'd all over *Thrace*,
owing daily ſtronger by the Acceſſion of freſh
umbers that came in to 'em. By this means the
ovince was reduc'd to a moſt miſerable Conditi-
, for they ſpar'd neither Sex nor Age, plucking
e Infants from their Mothers Breaſts, who whilſt
ey were lamenting the Death of their Husbands
their Children murder'd before their Faces.
hat the Sword had ſpar'd the Fire deſtroy'd, and
ey ſeem'd the moſt miſerable, whom Fortune, not
the

the Mercy of the Barbarians, had permitted to
laſt.

All this while *Valens* was at *Antioch*, intent up
the King of *Perſia*'s Deſigns, and as narrowly
ſerv'd by him. Upon his firſt Notice of theſe
gerous Commotions, he was at a loſs what Co
to take; he ſent away *Victor*, General of the Ho
to compoſe Matters in the beſt manner he could w
the *Perſians*; and reſolving to remove to *Conſtan*
ple, he ſent *Profuturus* and *Trajan*, two of his G
nerals, before him. They were Men of more A
bition than Conduct, for inſtead of endeavour
by Stratagem to cut off and ſtarve ſuch Multitu
of Men that fill'd the Mountains and cover'd all
Vallies, they inconſiderately engag'd 'em to th
own Coſt, depending too much upon the Legi
drawn out of *Armenia*, who indeed were good S
diers, but unable to make head againſt ſuch Swar
of the Enemy; at length they drove 'em up beyo
the Mountain of *Hæmus*, where they ſeiz'd up
all the Paſſes, hoping to block 'em up, and deſt
'em by Famine, at leaſt 'till the *Pannonian* and *Tra*
alpine Auxiliaries could join 'em, who had Ord
from *Gratian* to march, under the Conduct of *Fri*
ride, to their Aſſiſtance. *Gratian* at the ſame ti
ſent *Richomeres* with ſome Forces out of *Gaul*,
the Soldiers deſerted in great Numbers as they w
upon the March, ſollicited to it, as it was report
by *Merobaudes*, who was afraid ſo ſtrong a Detac
ment would leave the Borders too much expos
So that *Richomeres* join'd with *Profuturus* and *T*
jan, but to little or no effect; for *Frigeride* was ſei
with the Gout, or, as his Enemies would have
believ'd, pretended Sickneſs, and kept himſelf
of Danger; tho' his eminent Services not long a
leave little room for ſuch a Suſpicion.

Ric

ichomeres having join'd *Profuturus* and *Trajan*, Army march'd to a Place call'd *Salices*, where Enemy then lay. Here both Parties engag'd, fought with ſo much Obſtinacy, that Night e put an end to the Controverſie, and the *Romans* 'd, after the Loſs of a great many Men, to *Mar-pple*; tho' it is not eaſie to determine who had better of the Day, for the Enemy kept them-s cloſe ſeven Days together among the Carria-not daring to ſtir out, or purſue the *Romans* in r Retreat, 'till they had allur'd the *Hunni* and *s* to join with them; and then like a mighty od they bore down all before them, ſpreading nſelves over all the Coaſt of *Thrace*, as far as n the *Iſter* to the Mountain *Rhodope*, devouring a Plague all they met, and ſcattering Deſtructi-n every ſide. At a Place call'd *Dibaltum* they upon *Barzimeres*, Tribune of the *Scutarii*, who encamp'd there with his own Legion, and ſeve-other Parties of Foot. *Barzimeres* was an old ex-enc'd Commander, and knew well enough the ger he was in, and therefore drawing his Men nto a cloſe Body, he endeavour'd to force his y through the Enemies Squadrons, and main-d the Fight ſo long that he deſtroy'd a great mber of the Barbarians, but was at length over-er'd with freſh Supplies, and cut in pieces toge-with the whole Party. Animated by this Ad-tage, which had coſt 'em very dear, they went queſt of *Frigeride*, who was now come by the peror's Order into *Thrace*, and was poſted near *a*. He was too cautious to hazard his Army nſt an Enemy that exceeded him ſo much in mbers of Men, and therefore drew over the ntains into *Illyricum*; but in his Retreat met an Adventure with which he was much eleva-He fell in with *Farnobius*, one of the *Gothick* Cap-

A Roman Legion cut off.

A Party of the Goths *defeated.*

Captains, who was at the Head of a conſiderable Body of Troops, whom he engaged and defeated, killing the Commander upon the Spot, together with the reſt of his Army, except ſome who cry'd out for Quarter; them in Pity he ſpar'd, diſpoſing of 'em about *Mutina Rhegium*, and *Parma* in Italy, where they were employ'd in the Tillage of the Ground.

A. D. 378.

Whilſt *Thrace* was thus cruelly infeſted by the *Goths*, other Parts of the Empire labour'd under the ſame Calamities; for the whole Body of the *German* Nation, knowing the greateſt Part of the Imperial Forces were march'd into *Illyricum*, whither the Emperor *Gratian* was preparing to follow, they to the Number of forty thouſand, or upwards paſs'd over the *Rhine* upon the Ice, and broke into the Borders of *Gaul*. *Gratian* hereupon recall'd the Troops he had order'd to march into *Pannonia*, and at *Argentaria*, call'd at preſent *Colmar* in *Alſace*, gave the *Germans* ſo entire a Defeat, that not above five thouſand eſcap'd; among the reſt, *Priarius*, or *Priamus*, their King, the chief Promoter of the War, was ſlain.

The Germans *up in Arms,*

are defeated.

Gratian was highly pleas'd with this Succeſs, which redounded much to his Reputation; and now his Thoughts were bent towards the Eaſt, whither he was reſolv'd to march in Perſon to the Aſſiſtance of his Uncle *Valens*: But that he might leave no Enemy, capable of making any Diſturbance in his Abſence, behind him, he had a mind firſt to puniſh the *Lentienſes*, a People of *Germany* bordering upon *Rhætia*, who broke the League, and gave a Beginning to the late War. He therefore march'd his Army over the *Rhine* with all the Secreſie imaginable, intending by Surprize if poſſible to conquer, or extirpate ſo inconſtant and faithleſs a People. The *Lentienſes*, being inform'd of his ſudden Approach, were

ere in a great Conſternation what to do; after a ſhort eliberation they remov'd with their Families, and hatever elſe they could bear off with them, into e Mountains, where they fortify'd themſelves ith great Precipitation, reſolving to make good the ace at the Hazard of their Lives. Hither *Grati-* follow'd 'em, and finding upon Trial that they ere not eaſily to be remov'd, he block'd 'em up, d ſo reſolv'd by degrees to ſtarve 'em. Of this e *Germans* were quickly ſenſible, and therefore ey broke up without much Concern, and remov'd other Mountains, higher and more inacceſſible n the former. They were no ſooner gone, but *atian* mov'd after 'em, and endeavouring to di- ver the Paſſes that led to the Top of the Hills, gave 'em to underſtand what they were to ex- ct from him. They imagin'd by this his obſti- e Reſolution, that nothing would ſatisfie him but ir Deſtruction; whereupon they ſurrender'd them- ves, and in a very ſubmiſſive manner begg'd his rdon, which was granted them upon Condition y deliver'd up their Youth, who ſerv'd to recruit e *Roman* Army. By this laſt Advantage the We- rn Nations were reſtrain'd for the preſent, and w *Gratian* was at leiſure to purſue his intended pedition into the Eaſt, whither the Fame of his e Exploits had flown before him. He had indeed n'd much upon his Subjects by his generous Car- ge, being a Youth of great Hopes, well diſpos'd, quent, Courteous, and Liberal.

Having ſettled all his Affairs in *Gaul*, he began March, and mov'd with great Expedition by *uriacum*, call'd at preſent *Lork*, to the Aſſiſtance his Uncle. In the mean time, whilſt *Frigeride* s behaving himſelf with great Prudence and Cau- n, and fortifying the Straights of *Succi*, a Place the greateſt Importance, he was unaccountably

Gratian *begins his March into the Eaſt.*

diſmiſs'd from his Employment, at a ſeaſon when ſuch a Man ought to have been courted to the Service, and been entruſted in the higheſt Command. This was a great loſs to the Army, and was aggravated by the Inabilities of *Maurus* who ſucceeded him, being a Man of a quite contrary Temper, ruſſullen, and inconſtant.

Valens was by this time arriv'd at *Conſtantinople*, where he diſcharg'd *Trajan* from any farther Service, and made *Sebaſtian* General of the Foot. He was a brave experienc'd Commander, bred up in the Army, to which his Inclinations led him, from his Youth; and was now detach'd by the Emperor with a good Body of Forces under his Command against the Barbarians, lying then with a great Booty about *Beræa* and *Nicopolis*. At *Adrianople* he refreſh'd his Men, and iſſuing out the next Day, he fell unawares upon a Party of the *Goths*, who without any apprehenſions of an Enemy were roving about the River *Hebrus*, whom in great Numbers he kill'd, and recover'd their Plunder. *Fritigern* was much perplex'd at this unexpected Defeat, and fearing leſt the reſt of his Countrymen, roving about the Country, ſhould fall into *Sebaſtian*'s Hands, he gave 'em Orders to join him with all ſpeed, and march'd towards the Coaſts of *Cabyle*.

Sebaſtian *defeats a Party of the* Goths.

During theſe Occurrences in *Thrace*, *Gratian* inform'd his Uncle of the Succeſs of his Arms against the *Germans*, and was by this time come to *Sirmium*, where he ſtay'd four Days to refreſh his Army, and then proceeded along the *Danube* to a Place call'd *Caſtra Martis*, having in his March loſt ſeveral of his Men through the ſudden Incurſions of the Barbarians, and being himſelf afflicted all the while by an Ague.

Valens by this time began to think his own Reputation eclips'd by that of his young Nephew,

erefore reſolv'd to do ſomething that might equal
s Exploits againſt the *Germans*. This Emulation,
d it been rightly conceiv'd, might have been of
eat Uſe to the publick Affairs, but it made *Valens*
ſty and ungovernable, and thereby haſten'd his
eſtruction. He deſir'd to enjoy without a Ri-
l the Glory of a Victory, which he could not ob-
n without an Aſſiſtant. Marching therefore from
lanthias, an Imperial Town, he encamp'd with
Army near *Adrianople*, where he was preſented
th Letters from his Nephew *Gratian*, in which he
neſtly preſs'd him not to hazard a Battel 'till he
d join'd him, nor make that Victory doubtful,
ich the Conjunction of their Forces would ren-
indiſputable. In a Council of War, which was
mediately call'd, ſome advis'd him to fight with-
delay, amongſt whom was *Sebaſtian*, General of
Foot, but *Victor*, who commanded the Horſe,
was a wary prudent Officer, advis'd him by all
ans to ſtay for his Collegue, and the Acceſſion of
Gallick Troops, which would make him an equal
tch for the Enemy.

Some ſay *Fritigern* at the ſame time ſollicited him
Peace, offering to accept of it upon very reaſon-
Conditions, which his Officers advis'd him by
means to embrace; remonſtrating to him, *that
honourable and certain Peace was always to be
fer'd to an uncertain Victory*. Notwithſtand-
all which Conſiderations he was obſtinate to
t, perſuaded to it by his Flatterers who told
*he would thereby prevent the Honour his Ne-
would ſhare with him in the Engagement,
wear the Laurel alone*. So that having ſent all
Baggage into *Adrianople*, he order'd the Army
arch, and about Noon the Enemy was diſco-
d preparing to fight; hereupon the *Roman* Offi-
drew up their Army in Order of Battel. Some

of the Enemy that lay farther off with *Alatheus* a
Safraces ſent to the Emperor, and pretended to d
ſire Peace: He receiv'd 'em with much Indigna
on, requiring the chiefeſt among 'em to be deliver
up as Hoſtages; but they protracted the Time
long as they could 'till their Horſe was arriv'd, whi
they hourly expected; beſides, they deſign'd
their Delay to tire out the *Romans* with the Heat
the Seaſon, which was very much increas'd by t
multitudes of Fires they had for that purpoſe ki
dled throughout the Country.

In the mean time *Fritigern*, farther to amuſe t
Emperor, promis'd by a Meſſenger to bring all
Forces over to him, together with Neceſſaries
the Army, of which they then ſtood in great ne
but requir'd that ſome Noblemen might be ſent
Hoſtages to him. The Meſſage was very accep
ble to *Valens*, who propos'd *Equitius*, a Tribune
his own Relation, to be one of the Hoſtages;
he refus'd the Employment, having experienc'd
Severity of the Barbarians when detain'd Pr
ner among 'em, from whom he lately made
Eſcape. Upon this *Richomeres*, like a Man of C
rage and Reſolution, voluntarily offer'd himſel
go; but as they were conducting him to the E
mies Camp, a Party of Archers and others, un
the Command of *Bacurius* an *Iberian* and one C
impatient to be in Action, fell upon the *Goths*, and g
an unlucky Beginning to the War: For by this m
Richomeres his Deſign was fruſtrated, and the
thick Horſe having join'd the reſt of the Army,
came rolling like a Torrent down the Mount
and with an impetuous Force overwhelm'd all
ſtood in their way. The *Romans* were overp
er'd at the firſt Onſet, and fell in great Num
however they made a very vigorous Reſiſtance,
were reſolv'd to ſell their Lives at as dear a ra

ey could; never was Battel fought with more ſtinate Reſolution, where Death, like a raging reſiſtible Flame, firſt caught hold on thoſe who rn'd it looſe, and then enlarg'd and extended it ſelf every ſide with implacable Fury. The Left ing of the *Roman* Army pierc'd through to the emy's Carriages, and had undoubtedly done great ecution had they been ſupported by freſh oops; but being deſerted by the reſt of the rſe, who were broken at the firſt Shock, the barians fell like a mighty Tower upon 'em, and ſh'd 'em in a moment; by this means the Foot re left naked, and expos'd to the Enemies Wea-ns, who ſurrounding 'em on every ſide did very at Execution. The *Romans* fought like Men in ſpair, and ſeem'd to contemn that Death they nd unavoidable; the Barbarians behav'd them-es with equal Bravery, encourag'd with the ſpect of a Victory which they began to think ſputable. They ow'd the Fortune of the Day ſo much to their own Valour, as the Advantage their Numbers, which made 'em inſenſible of Loſs of Multitudes of their Countrymen, who ſcatter'd o'er the Field, gnawing the Earth, and ing their Eyes in Death, which for that Reaſon was unwelcome, becauſe it took from 'em the ns of Revenge. Through this Obſtinacy on h Sides the Plain became cover'd with Heaps of d Bodies, and the heavy Groans and Lamentati-of them that were dying ſilenc'd the Shouts Acclamations of thoſe who ſtill continu'd fight-

After the *Roman* Foot had done all that Men, oſe Native Courage was embolden'd by Deſpair, d pretend to do, and had reſiſted an Ene-'till at laſt they found him to be irreſiſtible, betook themſelves to Flight, but were cloſe-ollow'd by the Barbarians, who appear'd as

The Roman Army defeated.

obſtinate in the Purſuit as they had been before i
the Fight, ſparing none that yielded, but quitti
all thoſe that made Reſiſtance. On the one ſide t
Romans were hinder'd in their Flight by Multitu
of dead Bodies filling up the Ways, on the
ther they were favour'd by the Darkneſs of t
Night which now was coming on upon 'e
When the Emperor perceiv'd to which ſide t
Fortune of the Day inclin'd, and that the Reli
of his Army were quitting the Field to his Vi
rious Enemy, he fled in great Conſternation to t
Lancearii, who had hitherto ſtood the Shock wi
out giving the leaſt Ground; which *Trajan*, w
was lately reſtor'd to a Command in the Ar
obſerving, he cry'd out, *That the Emperor, deſer
by his Guards, would unavoidably be loſt unleſs
was inſtantly reſcu'd*; whereupon *Victor* went
haſte for a Body of *Batavians*, who had b
plac'd as a Reſerve for the Relief of the Prin
but by this time were either ſlain or fled. T
Valens was left expos'd to the Fury of the E
my, forſaken rather by Fortune, than deſerted
his Soldiers, whom the Barbarians over-power'd
ther than conquer'd. Thoſe Officers that were
about him preſs'd him earneſtly to fly for his S
ty, and reſerve himſelf for better Times, and
good of the Common-wealth, having provided
with Horſes accordingly, that would convey
ſpeedily out of Danger: But he thought it
neath his Dignity to out-live ſo great a Loſs,
Valens *ſlain.* therefore was ſlain by the Barbarians, together w
ſeveral of his Followers, who in Heaps fell o'er h
covering his Body inſtead of a Monument. T
Account of his Death we have from *Ammia*
and *Libanius* in his Oration to *Theodoſius*; tho' o
Hiſtorians affirm he did not die upon the ſpot,
being wounded in the Field fled with ſome of

followers to a Countryman's Houſe hard by, which they made good for ſome time againſt the Barbarians, who, ignorant of the Quality of the Perſon, and more intent upon the Proſpect of a greater booty, ſet Fire to the Houſe, in the Flames of which the unhappy Emperor was conſum'd. All Authors agree he ow'd his Ruin to his own Obſtinacy, engaging with the Enemy in Envy to the Virtues of his Nephew *Gratian*, contrary to the Rules of Prudence, and the Advice of his moſt experienc'd Captains. Some ſay he receiv'd the *Goths* into the *Roman* Pale out of a Diſguſt to *Gratian*, who, when *Valentinian* had been choſen Emperor without acquainting either of them with it, had confirm'd the Election without his Advice, and ſhar'd the Empire with him; to this may be added, the Diſagreement that was between 'em in Matters relating to Religion; for *Valens* had from the beginning openly eſpous'd the *Arian* Party, whereas *Gratian* was a great Favourer of the Orthodox Profeſſors.

With the Emperor fell near two Thirds of the Army, and among 'em ſeveral Eminent Perſons, ſuch as *Trajan* and *Sebaſtian*, two Principal Commanders, *Valerian* and *Equitius*, one Maſter of the Horſe, the other great Steward of the Houſhold, tho' none was more lamented than *Potentius*, a young Gentleman of extraordinary Hopes, highly eſteem'd for his own Merits, and reverenc'd in Honour to the Memory of his Father *Urſicinus*. This great Overthrow, ſaid to be equal'd by none but that of *Cannæ*, happen'd on the 9th of *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 378. in the fifth Conſulſhip of *Valens* and of *Valentinian*, after *Valens* had reign'd fourteen Years and four Months, and had liv'd near fifty.

The Character Heathen Authors have left us of him is agreeable to what we have already related *His Character.*

concerning him; but Eccleſiaſtical Writers are mo
ſevere againſt him, and term his Death a ju
Judgment from Heav'n for the many Perſecutio
he had rais'd againſt the Faithful, and the gre
Encouragement he gave to that abominable Herc
of *Arius*, which flouriſh'd and encreas'd more
his Reign than under any of his Predeceſſors.
ſome Reſpects he was like his Brother, for he w
very cautious of preferring his Relations, and a
gorous Exacter both of Civil and Military D
ſcipline. He was likewiſe a watchful Guardian
the Provinces, to whom he was as affectionate
his Care, as he could be to his own Family.
had one very commendable Quality, for he ne
conferr'd an Eſtate upon his begging Courtiers b
fore he who had a Title to it had time allow
him to plead his Right, and defend himſelf;
whenever upon Trial it appear'd he might lawf
ly diſpoſe of it, he never gave it all to him t
begg'd it, but made him ſhare it with ſome oth
that were abſent, and by ſuch Diſappointme
check'd the Importunity of thoſe who ſtood watc
ing for other Mens Wealth; tho' he himſelf wa
intemperately covetous of Riches, that his rigor
and almoſt daily Confiſcations made his Governm
intolerable. He was of a clowniſh ſurly Temp
which in a great meaſure may be charg'd upon
want of Education, being brought up in his Yo
neither to the Study of Arms, nor the liberal S
ences. He was ſo jealous of his Authority, that
leaſt Suſpicion of Treaſon made him cruel and
exorable, and his Ears were open continually
all manner of Accuſations, which gain'd him bu
few Friends, tho' where-ever he profeſs'd a Frie
ſhip himſelf he was firm and faithful. His w
of Breeding made him Rude and Abuſive, his J
louſie made him Cholerick and Partial, and his w

Merit Envious and Detracting; the laſt of which, e moſt unbecoming a Prince, threw him upon prudent Courſes, and, as we obſerv'd before, ought him to an untimely End.

II. The Day after the Fight the *Goths*, inform'd ſome Fugitives that *Valens* had left many Perns of Quality behind in *Adrianople*, where likeſe the Imperial Treaſure was lodg'd, march'd ith great Expedition thither, and laid Siege to e City, by which means they prevented ſeveral, ho had eſcap'd the Battel, from getting into the own; whereupon three hundred of 'em went in Body over to the Barbarians, who cut 'em all in ces, and by that imprudent Severity prevented e like Treachery for the future. After they d for ſeveral times aſſaulted the Town with much igour, and were as vigorouſly repuls'd by the Inbitants, they at firſt endeavour'd by Letters full Threats to perſuade the Defendants to ſurren-r, who anſwer'd 'em with much Indignation; en they attempted to ſeize on that by Fraud, hich they could not obtain by Force, and encoug'd certain Fugitives to pretend they had made Eſcape from the Beſiegers, and thereby gain dmittance into the Town, which they were to t on Fire in ſome convenient Place; which whilſt e Defendants were buſie in extinguiſhing, the arbarians might ſcale the Walls with greater Eaſe, nd ſo become Maſters of the Place. Theſe Fugitives me accordingly to the Trenches, where with their lands ſtretch'd out, they deſir'd of the *Romans* to admitted, who without Suſpicion of any Treahery open'd the Gate and took 'em in; but when ey came to be examin'd about the Enemy's Deigns they diſagreed in their Anſwers, which made m ſuſpected; and being put to the Rack they con-

The Goths *beſiege* Adrianople.

confeſs'd the whole Matter, and loſt their Heads for their Treaſon. The *Goths* being by this Diſcovery deceiv'd of their Expectation, renew'd the Attack with Minds harden'd againſt Death and Danger, thinking by the Superiority of Numbers to end the Buſineſs; but in this the *Romans* had the Advantage, that whatever they diſcharg'd at 'em did ſome Execution. This Attack was ſhortly after at the Inſtigation of their Officers, ſeconded by another, which they carry'd on with equal Obſtinacy, but were again repuls'd by the *Romans*, and forc'd to retire towards the Evening with great Loſs, fretting at their Succeſs, and upbraiding each other for acting contrary to *Fritigern*'s Advice, who by all Motives deſir'd them to avoid Sieges; ſo that they broke up the next Day, and march'd towards *Perinthus*, which they reſolv'd to ſeize; but ſtill feeling the rough Entertainment they met with before *Adrianople*, they had not the Courage to approach the Walls, but waſted that fertile Country on every ſide; and ſo dividing the Army into four Bodies, for fear of a Surprize, they mov'd towards *Conſtantinople*, promiſing themſelves nothing leſs than the Poſſeſſion of the great Wealth they knew to be in the City.

They raiſe the Siege,

and march to Perinthus;

from thence to Conſtantinople.

Some time before the Death of *Valens*, the *Saracens* in the Eaſt, encourag'd perhaps by the Succeſs the *Goths* met with in *Thrace*, in Defiance of a Truce concluded between the Emperor and their Prince, who was lately dead, by which means the Truce was expir'd, roſe up in Arms, and under the Conduct of *Mavia*, Widow to the deceas'd, a Woman of Maſculine Courage, ſurpriz'd the Town ſituate on the Fronties of *Paleſtine* and *Arabia*, and in ſeveral Encounters worſted the *Roman* Army, and thereby oblig'd the Emperor to grant them an Honourable Peace; one of the Principal Ar-

¶

s of which was, that the Queen, who had lately
ceiv'd the Light of the Goſpel, might have a
rtain Hermit call'd *Moſes*, renown'd for all his Vir-
es, and the Miracles God wrought by his Hands,
t to her to convert and inſtruct her Subjects in
e ſame Religion. *Moſes* was ſent accordingly,
d was ſo ſucceſsful in his Miſſion, that great
ultitudes of People, who never before heard of
riſtianity or the Goſpel, where enlighten'd by the
oly Ghoſt, and embrac'd the Faith. A great
rty from this Nation were now ſent by the Queen
defend *Conſtantinople*, and being more dextrous
ſudden Onſets than regular Engagements, they
u'd out, and fell ſuddenly upon the *Goths* as they
re facing the City. After a hot Diſpute for ſome
ne they parted upon equal Terms, tho' the *Goths*
re much terrify'd at an Action they obſerv'd in
e of the *Saracens*. A Man whoſe Hair hung in great length behind him, and who was naked all er his Body except his Privy Parts, ran with hideous Noiſe into the midſt of the *Goths*, and lling one of 'em, ſet his Mouth to the Wound d ſuck'd his Blood; tho' this was a cuſtomary ing with them of that Nation, as appears from e Teſtimony of ſeveral Authors, yet the Barbari- s were ſo ſurpriz'd at ſuch a prodigious Action, at they began to reflect on the Poſture of their ffairs, and march'd with more Circumſpection. bſerving the large Compaſs of the Walls, the rength of the Place, and great Numbers of its In- bitants, they decamp'd in the Night, and march'd orthward as far as the *Julian Alps*; having loſt ore Men than they deſtroy'd in this bold At- mpt, which prov'd more Fatal to ſome of their ountrymen than themſelves; for the Noiſe of eir Devaſtations throughout *Thrace* were no ſoon- reported in the Eaſt, but all the Provinces were

A ſtrange Action of a Saracen.

in

in a great Conſternation, expecting the Storm would preſently be at their own Doors, by reaſon of the great Multitudes of *Goths* which were than quartered in the ſeveral Forts and Cities of thoſe Parts tho' under the Command of *Roman* Officers, who they made no doubt would readily riſe and join with their Countrymen, ſhould they in the Courſe of their Rovings move that way; but *Julius*, who commanded in the Eaſt as General of the *Roman* Armies, enter'd upon a ſafe and wholeſome, but ſevere and bloody Courſe, to prevent any Danger that might ariſe from 'em. By Letters ſent ſecretly to their Officers, he order'd 'em all to be drawn out in the Fields adjoining to their reſpective Quarters at one and the ſame time, under a Pretence of receiving their Pay, and to be all put to the Sword. This prudent Counſel was put in Execution without any Noiſe or Delay, and the Eaſtern Provinces were thereby deliver'd from thoſe great Dangers they had juſt reaſon to apprehend. *Gratian* being inform'd of his Uncle's Death, and the great Loſs the *Romans* had ſuſtain'd in the late Battel, went preſently to *Sirmium*, there to take ſuch Meaſures and follow ſuch Councils as the Neceſſity of his Affairs ſuggeſted to him; and being join'd by all the Forces he could raiſe, he march'd through *Pannonia*, *Myſia*, and *Thrace*, and arriv'd at *Conſtantinople*, where conſidering with himſelf how many brave Officers the preſent War had deſtroy'd, and how much he ſtood in need of an able and faithful General, he pitch'd upon *Theodoſius*, the Son of him who commanded with ſo much Succeſs firſt here in *Britain*, and afterwards in *Africa*. He was a Perſon of great Abilities in Matters relating to the War, and no leſs capable of managing State Affairs, and governing in Times of Peace, of all which he had given extrardinary Proofs, the

All the Goths put to the Sword in the Eaſt.

upo

on the Account of ſome Faction in *Spain*, his
n Country, he was at preſent laid aſide, and led
rivate retir'd Life. Him *Gratian* immediately
t for, and in the mean time nam'd *Auſonius* and
brius Conſuls for the Year enſuing. *Auſonius*
s a Native of *Burdeaux*, had been the Emperor's
tor, and was one of the moſt famous Poets of
Time; tho' he fell ſhort of that Beauty and
rity in his Writings, which ſo evidently diſtin-
iſh thoſe of the *Auguſtean* Age.

Theodoſius, in Obedience to the Emperor, arri-
d at Court, and had Orders to command in the
ſt; and ſome ſay, that he immediately thereupon
ter'd into Action with the Barbarians, and obtain'd
memorable Victory over 'em: This is not very
obable, if we conſider the Silence of the ancient
Writers in this Particular, and that within a Month THEODO-
er, being with *Gratian* at *Sirmium*, he was de- SIUS.
r'd by him his Collegue in the Empire.

For *Gratian* obſerving the Neceſſities to which
e State was reduc'd, and the imminent Dangers
at threaten'd the Empire, how the *Goths* on one
le continu'd to infeſt it, and were raging in the
ry Bowels of it; how on the other the *Germans*,
king the Advantage of his Abſence, were again up
Arms, and were making Work enough for him
Gaul, he willingly inclin'd to the Advice of thoſe
ho perſuaded him to admit of *Theodoſius* for his
artner in the Supream Power. Whereupon ſum-
oning the Nobility together, he addreſs'd himſelf
a Speech to *Theodoſius*, and told him *he had re-
ſolv'd to commit the Care of the Eaſt to his Charge*.
heodoſius thank'd him, in a modeſt Anſwer, for the
reat Honour he intended him, but endeavour'd to
xcuſe himſelf, declaring the Burden *to be greater
han he was able to undergo*. However *Gratian*
ill perſiſted in his Deſign, and ſo *Theodoſius* was
declar'd

declar'd Emperor on the 16th of *January*, when he
A. D. was thirty three Years old, *A. D.* 379. *Auſonius*
379. and *Olibrius* being Conſuls.

After *Gratian* had taken this Order for the Set-tlement and Security of the Eaſt, he left *Sirmium* in order to return to *Gaul*, into which he heard the *Germans*, having broken through the Borders, were lately fallen. He march'd therefore towards it with all Expedition, and at *Milan* publiſhes an Edict forbidding any under the ſevereſt Penalties to har-bour or conceal thoſe who deſerted their Colours, a thing at that time very much in practice. From *Milan* he proceeded on his Progreſs through *Rhe-tia*, and viſited the *Sequani* and *Germania Prima*, and by little more than his Appearance in thoſe Parts reſtrain'd the Motions of the *Germans*, and ſettling the Affairs of that Country he return'd to *Treves*, having much about this time iſſu'd out another Edict forbidding Hereticks to form any publick Aſſemblies throughout the Empire.

Gratian being departed from *Sirmium*, *Theodoſius* remov'd to *Theſſalonica*, where he gain'd very much upon the Minds of the People, through the eaſie Acceſs to his Perſon, and his obliging Carriage to thoſe who had any Buſineſs with him, relating ei-ther to the Publick, or their own private Concerns. Here he began his firſt Preparations againſt the *Goths*, who having in freſh Numbers paſs'd the *Iſter* grew very burdenſome to the Provinces. They were grown ſo numerous in *Thrace*, all which they had by this time over-run, that the *Roman* Forces diſpo-ſed in Garriſons throughout the Country, dar'd not ſo much as look abroad, much leſs to come to any Engagement in the open Field. Here our beſt Guide, *Ammianus*, has left us, who concluded his Hiſtory preſently after the Death of *Valens*; and o-ther Authors, who wrote of the Actions perform'd

againſt

gainſt the Barbarians, are ſo inconſiſtent with each ther, ſo obſcure in their Accounts, and frequently contradictory to themſelves, that a Writer ought be very cautious of what he relates upon their uthority. Some ſay *Theodoſius* march'd in Per- n againſt them, fought them, and gave them a tal Defeat. Others, that whilſt he continu'd at *heſſalonica*, one *Modares*, a Man of Royal Birth nong the *Scythians*, having embrac'd the *Roman* tereſt, and perform'd ſome ſignal Services under m, was preferr'd to a conſiderable Command in the rmy. That he leading his Men up to a Hill, om whence he had a fair Proſpect of the adjacent ountry, diſcover'd the Barbarians, who had abus'd e Advantages the fruitful Plains afforded, and were r the moſt part overcome with Exceſs of Wine. Whereupon he order'd his Troops to leave their eavy Armour behind, and with their Swords in and fall upon them who were by this time unable defend themſelves. This was ſpeedily executed, d the Barbarians were put all to the Sword, many f them dying without being ſenſible who they were at hurt them. In their Camp, which they plun- er'd, they found four thouſand Waggons full of eir Wives and Children, with an anſwerable num- r of Slaves, beſides ſeveral who follow'd on Foot, d were to ride when their Turns came, for there as not room ſufficient in their Carriages to receive m all at once. And in this manner *Zozimus* tells *Thrace* was preſerv'd from an approaching Ruin, hich he attributes to the Conduct of *Modares*, and ot to the Prudence and Circumſpection of *Theodo-* s, who, if we may believe him, behav'd himſelf un- orthy the high Dignity to which he was advanc'd; r he inveighs againſt him in Terms better becom- g the Virulence of a Declaimer, than the Integri- of an Hiſtorian. But as he appears groſly parti-

al

al in many other Paſſages of his Hiſtory, ſo is h
no leſs to be ſuſpected in this; for beſides that h
is not able to conceal the Rancour of his Heart, an
his Zeal for the Pagan Worſhip, ſeveral Law
made by *Theodoſius* at that time, eſpecially ſome re
lating to the Army, wipe off thoſe Aſperſions h
has flung at random upon him, and argue him a
void of good Manners as of Judgment. To a
which we may add, that in thoſe things for whic
he reprehends and taxes *Theodoſius*, few or no othe
Writers agree with him; but where he condeſcend
to make him ſome Allowances due to his Prudenc
and Succeſs, he therein concurs with the reſt of th
Authors, who have written of thoſe Times, whe
ther Chriſtian or Heathen. He confeſſes that h
generous Behaviour and Magnificence towards *Athe
narich*, a *Scythian* Prince we had occaſion to menti
on before, wrought ſo much upon the *Scythians* wh
attended him to *Conſtantinople*, that they return'
home, in high Admiration of *Theodoſius* his Good
neſs, and reſolv'd no more to moleſt the *Romans*
and ſome who ſtaid behind undertook to defend th
Bank of the River, and freed the *Roman* Territorie
from any Incurſions for a long time after. He tell
us he overthrew the *Scyri* and *Carpadocæ*, who ha
join'd themſelves with the *Hunns*, and compell'd 'em
to return home; that by this, and ſome other ſuc
ceſsful Exploits, the Soldiers began to re-aſſume thei
former Courage, and breath with new Hopes, not
withſtanding the many Difficulties which for a lon
time had lain heavy upon the Empire, which ſeem'
now by *Theodoſius* his Vigilance to be recover'd from
its former Diſtempers. This Account of *Theodoſi
us* his Succeſs is no more than what is atteſted b
ſeveral other Writers, who agree with him in h
Commendations of *Theodoſius* his Clemency and ſin
gular good Nature; by the Force and Efficacy o
which

which Weapon, more prevalent than his Garriſons, Legions and Cohorts, ſaith *Themiſtius*, he extinguiſh'd the *Scythian* Flame, though it had for a long time rag'd with a reſiſtleſs Fury throughout *Thrace*, which groan'd with the Weight of the Barbarians that ruſh'd in upon it, whilſt the Banks of the *Danube* vomited forth Battels that laid whole Provinces waſte in a Moment. *Oroſius* writes further, that all the Nations of the *Goths*, charm'd with the Virtue and Mildneſs of *Theodoſius*, renounc'd all farther thoughts of War, and ſubmitted themſelves to the Laws of the *Roman* Empire: Adding, that at the ſame time the *Perſians* voluntarily ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, to ſollicit a Peace, whereupon a League was concluded, of which all the Eaſt reap'd the Benefit for a long time after.

Tho' *Zozimus* charges this Emperor with many enormous Corruptions, which he ſuffer'd to be introduced into his Court and Camp, yet we are aſſur'd that he effected a thorough Reformation in both. He put a Stop to the ill Practices that had been us'd for a long time in raiſing the *Tirones*, or Recruits for the Army; publiſh'd a Law, which he caus'd exactly to be obſerv'd, againſt corrupt Judges; enlarg'd the Authority of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, who had thereby a full Power to puniſh the Miſdemeanors of Governors in the Provinces; he reſtrain'd the unlimited Licence of Informers, and ſufficiently diſcourag'd a great Vice, natural to Courtiers in almoſt all Reigns, that of begging Men's Eſtates; and whereas ſome Governors of Provinces, by a ſhameful Abuſe of their Power, often terrify'd Men into Donations, wherein they gave a great Part of their Eſtates to them, to the apparent Prejudice, and ſometimes utter Ruin of their Families, he declar'd all ſuch Donations to be void, whether made to the Governors themſelves,

or any of their Relations; he reform'd ſeveral Abuſes too much practis'd by the Receivers of the Revenue, which were thereby improv'd to a very great degree; and by a very wholeſome Law ordain'd, that thoſe who had been Governors of Provinces, ſhould, after the time of their Government was expir'd, remain in the reſpective Province for two or three Months, there to anſwer whatever the Provincials could alledge againſt 'em in reference to their Male-Adminiſtration, and made 'em reſponſible not only for whatever Injuries they had done themſelves, but for the Inſolences committed by their inferior Officers. One *Natalis*, who had formerly commanded in *Sardinia*, gave occaſion to this Law: He, in the former Reign, had cruelly oppreſs'd the Inhabitants of that Province, and was got out of their Power, before they had time to complain to thoſe who had the proper Cognizance of it; but *Theodoſius* ſent him back into the Iſland, and ſubjected him to the Inquiſition of the Law, and to prevent the like Oppreſſions for the future, publiſh'd the forementioned Edict.

Theſe Laws and Ordinances ſufficiently clear him from the Imputation of that heavy Charge *Zosimus* has brought againſt him, whoſe greateſt Quarrel to him was that he was a Chriſtian, in the Purity of which Faith he perſiſted, at a time when the Church was almoſt rent in pieces by innumerable Hereſies and Schiſms. One *Maximus*, a *Cynic* Philoſopher, had lately embrac'd Chriſtianity, in the Defence of which he writ with much Spirit and Judgment, both againſt the *Arians* and Heathen, for which in *Valens* his Reign he had ſuffer'd much Perſecution, and was baniſh'd into the Deſart of *Oaſis*. He was now return'd to *Conſtantinople*, and was recommended by *Peter* of *Alexandria* to *Gregory Nazianzen*, whom the People of the City had elect-

Commotions at Conſtantinople

lected for their Biſhop, into which Office the *A-*
ans had in *Valens* his Reign thruſt one of their
wn Faction. *Gregory* receiv'd *Maximus* with
uch Tenderneſs, and recommended him to the
eople, as *one whom Jeſus Chriſt had thought wor-*
y to ſuffer for his Name ſake, and little thought
Man of his exemplary Sanctity ſhould be anima-
d with the Spirit of Pride and Ambition. *Max-*
us had, either by the Appearance of his good
ualities, or his Promiſes and Preſents, ſo far gain'd
e Good-will of *Peter*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, that
reſolv'd blindly to eſpouſe and favour his Inte-
t: Accordingly he diſpatch'd ſeven Orthodox Bi-
ops to *Conſtantinople*, whom St. *Gregory* entertain'd
th much Civility, and commended 'em in his Ser-
ons as Prelates truly zealous for the Faith. Some
e after an Indiſpoſition of Health, oblig'd him
etire into the Country for a few Days, for the
nefit of the Air; and in his Abſence theſe Bi-
ops got by Night into the Church *of the Reſur-*
ion, where they ordain'd *Maximus* Biſhop of
ſtantinople in the room of *Gregory*: In the Morn-
the People and the Prieſts, who were of *Grego-*
Party, and even the *Arians* themſelves, offen-
at ſo bold an Attempt, came in a great Body and
'd *Maximus* and his Ordainers out of the Church;
withſtanding which they perſiſted ſtill in their
ign, and getting into a private Houſe they cut
Maximus his Hair, which he wore very long,
the Mode of the *Cynic* Philoſophers, and con-
'd him Biſhop. The People were ſo provok'd
his their Obſtinacy, that they chac'd the new
ate out of the City, and ſent for St. *Gregory*;
returning, convinc'd ſome who had been in-
d to adhere to *Maximus*, of his ſiniſter Practi-
and compos'd the Minds of the People. From
e we may learn, that the Life and Nature of

Chriſtianity does not conſiſt in an outward Profeſ
ſion of it, however formal and zealous, but in a
inward Purity of the Mind, which none can coun
terfeit, and is the immediate Gift of God. The
Practices at *Conſtantinople*, and ſome freſh Attemp
of the *Arians*, caus'd *Theodoſius* to ſummon the ſ
cond General or Oecumenical Council, which w
celebrated in that City by 150 Orthodox Biſhops

ARCADIUS *declared Auguſtus.* A. D. 383.

Some time after this *Theodoſius* advanc'd his S
Arcadius, whom he had by the Empreſs *Placil*
to the Imperial Dignity. This Ceremony was p
form'd on the 16th of *January*, *Arcadius* being th
ſix, or as ſome will have it eight Years of A
After he had made him Emperor, his firſt C
was to give him an Education proper for a Per
that was to move in ſo high a Sphere, and to t
purpoſe deſir'd *Gratian* by Letters to ſend him ſo
pious and learned Man, whom he thought fit for
great an Undertaking. Hereupon *Gratian*, at
Recommendation of *Damaſus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, m
choice of *Arſenius*, a Deacon of the *Roman* Chur
a Perſon eminent for Piety and Learning.

Upon his Arrival at *Conſtantinople* the Empe
reſign'd up his Sons, together with *Nebridius* t
Couſin-German, to his Care, telling him *That
the future heſh ould look on him as their Father
than himſelf*: Implying by it, that he deſir'd
to uſe the ſame Authority over, and Affection
wards 'em, as a Father doth to his Children;
that he expected his Sons ſhould pay him a Reſ
equal to that which is due to a Parent. Accord
ly coming one Day into the School he found
ſenius ſtanding, and *Arcadius*, whom he wa
ſtructing, ſitting down, at which Sight he wa
gry, and reprehended *Arſenius* for not preſer
the Dignity of his Office. To this *Arſenius*
ply'd, *That it by no means became him to ſit in*

ſence of an Emperor; upon which *Theodoſius* took e Diadem from off *Arcadius* his Head, and made *rſenius* ſit down whilſt the young Emperor re-iv'd his Inſtructions ſtanding, and bare-headed, a Scholar ought; adding, *That his Son would be worthy the Empire, if to Knowledge he did not add odneſs and the Fear of God. Arſenius* omitted no-ing requiſite to the informing a Prince, in whoſe ducation a great part of Mankind was ſo nearly ncern'd; but he found his Scholar was not ſo ocile and Tractable as he deſir'd, for being con-ain'd to chaſtiſe him one Day for a very conſi-rable Fault, he receiv'd his Correction with ſo uch Indignation, that he immediately plotted a-inſt his Maſter's Life. *Arſenius* being inform'd it, retir'd ſecretly from Court, and join'd him-f to ſome *Anchorets* in *Egypt*, where he liv'd all e reſt of his Days, and dy'd Famous for his nctity.

Gratian had upon all Occaſions ſhow'd himſelf ry averſe to the Heathen Superſtitions, depriving e Prieſts of the Revenue that had been aſſign'd their Subſiſtance. He refus'd the Title of *ief-Prieſt*, which had been offer'd him, being of pinion it ſavour'd too much of the ancient Ido-ry; theſe, and other Provocations, upon the ac-unt of Religion, render'd him odious to the Hea-ens, whoſe manner of Worſhip they were afraid intended to extirpate; and this made 'em caſt eir Eyes upon *Maximus*, who was then aiming great things here in *Britain*, where he had per-m d many brave Exploits againſt the *Scots*, whoſe ng, *Eugenius*, he defeated and kill'd in Battel. e Writers of thoſe Times are not agreed upon e Place of his Birth; ſome ſay he was a *Spaniard*, hers that he was Born in this Iſland; but of what untry ſoever he was, he gave out that he was

Maximus *Uſurps.*

deſcended from *Conſtantine* the Great, and accordingly call'd himſelf *Fl. Clemens Maximus*; and the better to ingratiate himſelf with the Soldiers, pretended that he was join'd in Affinity with *Theodoſius*, with whoſe Participation and Conſent he had thus ſet up for himſelf. *Gratian* at firſt deſpis'd him as a mean Man, unable to accompliſh his Treaſonable Deſigns, and therefore ſent only a few mercenary *Alans* againſt him, whom indeed ſome accus'd him for favouring too much. The old *Roman* Soldiers were highly affronted at this Preference which they thought the Emperor gave the Barbarians, on whoſe Fidelity and Courage he ſeem'd chiefly to rely. This Diſſatisfaction was improv'd by ſome who were diſaffected to *Gratian*, and wrought ſo much upon the Army that in great Anger they revolted to *Maximus*, from whom they were promis'd all manner of Favours. A Revolt ſo unexpected made *Gratian* fly from *Triers* in great Conſternation to *Paris*, whither the Uſurper after he had eaſily defeated the *Alans*, follow'd and encamp'd near him. For five Days together both Armies continu'd in their Poſts without any Action, except a few Skirmiſhes, in which the Advantage was great on neither Side, 'till firſt the *Moors*, and then the reſt of the Army ſhamefully deſerted the Prince, and went over to *Maximus*. *Gratian* ſeeing himſelf thus abandon'd by his Subjects fled in great haſte towards the South, attended by no more than three hundred Horſe, and at laſt got into *Lyons*, after he had been refus'd Admittance into other Cities. *Maximus* follow'd him cloſe upon the Heels with his whole Army, and attempted at firſt by plain Force to deſtroy him; but being diſappointed in that, he had recourſe to a Stratagem, in which he ſucceeded. He procur'd ſome about *Gratian* to inform him, that his W[illegible]

was coming to him, and intended to meet him on this ſide the *Rhône*, which runs by the City. This News highly pleas'd the unfortunate Prince, who was over-joy'd to hear the Empreſs was ſo near at Hand, and without any Heſitation went forth to meet her. In the mean time a Ruffian had by *Maximus* his Procurement diſpos'd of himſelf in a Litter, in which *Gratian* was made to believe the Empreſs was. The Emperor with open Arms ſtood ready to receive her, and the Villain ſuddenly ſtarted forth, and without any Remorſe depriv'd him of Life, whom he ought to have defended at the certain hazard of his own. Thus fell *Gratian* by the Hands of a barbarous Traitor, call'd *Andragathius*, in the Flower of his Age, having hardly liv'd twenty eight Years, and reign'd ſixteen. He was a Prince on whom the moſt inveterate of Pagan Writers have faſten'd no ill Character; for not to mention his School-maſter *Auſonius*, they all agree that he was Modeſt, Gentle, Eloquent and Sincere; that he was Abſtemious, Sober, Frugal, but not Parcimonious; Devout, but no way Superſtitious. They charge him with following the Sports of the Field, and other Recreations too much, neglecting in the mean time the weighty Affairs of the Empire; this may juſtly be imputed to his Youth, and want of Conſideration, and for which there is great reaſon to think he would have made large Amends in his riper Years; as may be gather'd from his Exploits againſt the *Germans*, his Zeal in aſſiſting his Uncle *Valens*, and Prudence in promoting *Theodoſius*, and thereby providing for the Security of the Eaſt. Indeed *Auſonius* launches out largely in his Commendation, tho' there is nothing contain'd in his whole Panegyrick, that ſeems to contradict the Senſe other Writers had of him, whether Chriſtian or Heathen. In a Word, he was worthy

Gratian *Slain.*

His Character.

a longer Life, but is not the only good Prince whom Treaſon and Ambition have brought to an untimely Death.

III. We ought not to wonder if *Maximus*, who had ſtain'd his Hands in the Blood of his lawful Soveraign, ſhould deny him decent Burial after he had procur'd him to be barbarouſly murder'd; it was an Inhumanity agreeable to a Tyrant and Uſurper, whoſe Cruelty was not ſatisfy'd with his Death, but rag'd with an implacable Thirſt againſt thoſe whoſe Loyal Services had rais'd 'em into any degree of Favour with their deceas'd Maſter. Some Writers have affirm'd that *Merobaudes*, the Conſul for this Year, was privy to *Maximus* his Proceedings, and conſenting to the Death of *Gratian*, for which, if it be true, the Tyrant made him but an ill return; for before the Year was expir'd he put him to Death, as he did *Ballio* and ſeveral others, whom he ſuſpected to be favourable to the Memory of *Gratian*, who he thought ſtill ſurviv'd in their Affections towards him, and render'd his Uſurpation weak and inſecure. As ſoon as he found all things ſucceeded according to his Deſire and Expectation, either becauſe he thought himſelf ſafe by this time in his new Dignity, or rather to ſtrengthen and confirm himſelf in it, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Theodoſius*, not to ask his Pardon for what he had acted againſt *Gratian*, but *to offer Peace, and upon his Acceptance of it to Unite himſelf in a League with him againſt the Enemies of the* Roman *Empire*; *or in caſe he rejected the Friendly Offer, to denounce War againſt him, which muſt be bloody in the Courſe of it, and doubtful in the Iſſue.*

Maximus *his Cruelty.*

Theodoſius, concealing his Thoughts, receiv'd the Ambaſſadors very honourably, and in appearance com-

omply'd with the Tyrant's Demands; for he was fraid leſt, upon his Refuſal, he ſhould Invade *Italy* and Surprize *Valentinian*, who had neither Experience, nor Forces ſufficient to make Head againſt ſo powerful an Enemy, who was now become Maſter of *Gaul* and *Spain*; and *Valentinian* himſelf was ſo ſenſible of the Danger he was in, and jealous of the Integrity of ſome that were near him, that he ſent St. *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of *Milan*, to ſee if upon the Reputation of his Wiſdom and Sanctity, he could reſtrain the Uſurper's extravagant Thirſt of Empire, and perſuade him to continue on that ſide the *Alps*. *Maximus* ſeem'd well pleas'd with it. *Ambroſe* his Errand, either becauſe he had not as yet ſettled his Affairs in *Gaul* and *Britain*, or at preſent was in want of Mony, the Sinews of War, without which his future Attempts would be vain and ineffectual. He careſs'd St. *Ambroſe* in an extraordinary manner, and ask'd him why *Valentinian* himſelf did not come with him, affirming *he would have been equally welcome to his Arms, as if he had been his own Son.* St. *Ambroſe* made a very handſome Excuſe for *Valentinian*, telling him *he was too Young to attempt a Journey over the Alps at ſo unſeaſonable a time of the Year*; and concluded *that he was not come to give him an Account of his Maſter's Actions, but ſettle a mutual Confidence and Agreement between 'em, if he thought fit to accept of it*; and in ſhort he ſo dexterouſly amus'd *Maximus*, that a Peace was concluded according to his Deſire.

This Year *Theodoſius*, who earneſtly endeavour'd to eſtabliſh a perfect Union in the Church, ſummon'd another Council to ſit at *Conſtantinople*, ſending not only for the Orthodox Biſhops but the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, *Novatians*, and others; and having propos'd a means of an Accommodation between

tween 'em, he outwardly careſs'd the Heretick Prelates during the Conference, hoping, by ſuch Condeſcenſion, to make 'em more inclinable to Compliance. This was obſerv'd by *Amphilochius* Biſhop of *Iconium*, a Perſon Eminent for his Doctrine and Piety, who now began to be afraid the Emperor would ſuffer himſelf to be ſeduc'd by the crafty Inſinuations of the *Arians*; and when the other Biſhops, upon his Entrance into the Place where the Council was celebrated, roſe and paid *Theodoſius* the accuſtom'd Honours, obſerving the ſame to his Son *Arcadius*, whom he had lately declar'd Emperor, *Amphilochius* ſaluted the Father, but took no manner of notice of *Arcadius*, which *Theodoſius* imputing to a Miſtake, commanded him to come and render the ſame Honours to *Arcadius*; the Biſhop reply'd, *He had done his Duty in that he had honour'd the Father:* This Anſwer offended *Theodoſius*, who thought both himſelf and his Son highly injur'd in it, upon which *Amphilochius* ſaid aloud, *Your Majeſty is in the right in requiring the ſame Honours to be paid to your Son, which are due to your ſelf; be pleas'd to judge therefore what an heinous Offence they commit againſt God the Father, who are ſo far from giving the Son the Honour due to his Name, that they dare moſt impiouſly to revile and blaſpheme it.* *Theodoſius* was ſo touch'd with this ſeaſonable Anſwer, that he ever after eſpous'd the Orthodox Intereſt with more Zeal, and prohibited the *Arians* from holding any Public Aſſemblies.

He had lately, by his Armies in the Eaſt, obtain'd ſeveral Advantages over the *Perſians*, who therefore by their Ambaſſadors at *Conſtantinople* deſir'd a Peace, which *Theodoſius*, whoſe main Care was the Safety and Proſperity of the Empire, readily granted; and tho' he had then great Armies on Foot [illegible] ſeveral

ſeveral Quarters of the Empire, he at a great Expence beautify'd and improv'd the City, by building ſeveral Aquæducts, and a Capacious Port, from whence, as ſome have conceiv'd, the *Turks* at this Day call *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, by way of Eminence, the *Port*; by ſeveral wholeſom Laws and Royal Immunities he eas'd the Inhabitants of ſuch Hardſhips, as either the Corruption or Remiſsneſs of former Reigns had thrown upon 'em. This Year was *Honorius* his ſecond Son Born, in the Conſulate of *Fl. Ricimeres*, and *Fl. Clearchus*, and the Year following had *Fl. Arcadius*, and *Fl. Bauto* for Conſuls. About this time *Theodoſius* loſt his Wife *Placilla*, or *Flaccilla*, a Lady as remarkable for her Piety and Munificence, as ſhe was illuſtrious for her Dignity, with which ſhe never appear'd in the leaſt Elevated, but rather the more Humble and Devout; ſhe took care often to remind the Emperor of his former Condition, that he might behave himſelf in his exalted Fortune with a Heart full of Gratitude and Submiſſion to the Will of God, by whom he Reign'd. She not only made a Proviſion for the Maintenance of the Sick and Infirm, but would her ſelf often Viſit 'em in Perſon, and Adminiſter to 'em: Theſe extraordinary Qualities endear'd her to the Fathers of the Church, who liv'd in that Age, and who have given Poſterity large Commendations of her Virtues. The Emperor was ſenſibly touch'd at the loſs of ſo excellent a Wife, which was follow'd by ſome new Commotions rais'd by the *Gruthungi*, a People unknown 'till then to other Nations, but who began now to appear on the other ſide of the *Iſter*. They were numerous, and well provided with Arms, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for a bold Undertaking; ſo that breaking with eaſe through the Territories of other Barbarians, under the Conduct of *Odetheus* their

A. D. 385.

The Death of the Empreſs Flaccilla.

their King, they came to the Banks of the River,
Promotus *Defeats the* Gruthungi.
and demanded a Paſſage over. *Promotus* was then Lieutenant for the Emperor in thoſe Parts, who, without making much Oppoſition, openly circumvented 'em by a Stratagem. He procur'd ſome in whom he could confide, and were skilful in the Language of the Barbarians, to go in the nature of Deſerters over to 'em; they being brought to the King undertook, upon the Promiſe of a good Reward, to conduct 'em ſafely over the River, and betray the *Roman* Commander and his Army into their Hands. The King readily accepted of the Conditions, and Matters were duly concerted between 'em for the Accompliſhment of the intended Deſign; but *Promotus* being inform'd of all by his induſtrious Emiſſaries, was ſo prepar'd to receive thoſe, who expected to meet with no Oppoſition, that they were all drown'd before they could reach the oppoſite Shore, and they who continu'd ſtill on the other ſide, were either taken or put to Flight; the *Romans* plunder'd their Camp, in which they found a very great Booty, beſides Multitudes of Women and Children, who with the Priſoners taken in the Fight were ſent to *Theodoſius*, who receiv'd 'em more favourably than they expected, releas'd 'em from their Bonds, regal'd 'em with Preſents, hoping by this his Humanity to purchaſe their good Will, and make uſe of 'em in the War he was now preparing againſt *Maximus*. But whilſt he was intent upon it, a Sedition at *Antioch* diverted him from his Preparations, which as it was extraordinary in its kind, and brought the City into extream Danger, ſo in the Sequel it ſhow'd the gentle Temper of *Theodoſius* his Mind. His Son
A. D. 387.
Arcadius was now in the fifth Year of his Sovereignty, and he himſelf ready to enter into the tenth of his own, ſo that this Year he celebrated his Son's

Son's *Quinquennalia*, and was making a Proviſion for the ſolemnizing his own *Decennalia*.

As it was uſual with the Emperors to preſent the Soldiers with a Donative upon their firſt Promotion to the Imperial Dignity, ſo did they always do the like upon theſe Solemnities, at which time they were ſuppos'd to renew their Power, and in a manner begin their Reign afreſh. The neceſſary Preparations for the War deſign'd againſt *Maximus*, and this Largeſs which the Emperor was to make, as well upon his own as his Son's Account, requir'd a great Sum of Mony; for which Reaſon he exacted an anſwerable Supply from the People. This ſeem'd ſo unreaſonable an Oppreſſion to the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, that they rais'd a great Sedition in the City, demoliſhing his Statues, together with thoſe of the late Empreſs *Flaccilla*, thoſe of his two Sons, and of his Father *Theodoſius*. *A Sedition at* Antioch.

The Emperor, upon the firſt News of this Inſurrection, was highly diſpleas'd, and ſent away two Judges with full Powers to try and puniſh the Offenders; who arriving at *Antioch* firſt depriv'd the City of all her Privileges, degraded her from her Metropolitan Honour, and made *Laodicea* Metropolis of *Syria*; they commanded all the Baths, Theatres, *Forums*, and other publick Places to be ſhut up; the moſt Eminent of the City, who were known or ſuſpected to be guilty, were apprehended, and committed to Priſon, where they were preſented with Tortures, and terrify'd with the ſenſe of the Emperor's Indignation; a ſufficient Number of Guards were plac'd in all the Quarters of the City to curb the Citizens, and reſtrain 'em from any new Inſurrection; the Judges were buſy'd in preparing the ſevereſt Inquiſitions, and in ſeizing the Eſtates of thoſe, who were ſuſpected to have been the moſt Active, whilſt the diſconſolate Inhabitants had no Comfort,

Comfort, but in their Devotions, and the Sermons of St. *Chryſoſtome*, who then reſided in that City. A great part of the Inhabitants, and they who had been the Ring-leaders in the Uproar, when they heard how highly the Emperor was offended, eſpecially at the Indignity offer'd his deceas'd Empreſs, withdrew themſelves from the Storm which they ſaw gathering over 'em. Several Hermits, who led a retir'd Life in the adjacent Mountains, had no ſooner heard of the miſerable Condition the City was in, but they repair'd thither, and by their importunate Arguments prevail'd with the Judges to ſuſpend their farther Proceedings, till by ſome proper Meſſenger they had attempted to appeaſe the Emperor, and ſoften him into Pity towards 'em. The very principal Men in that flouriſhing City had been arraign'd and condemn'd, and there wanted nothing but the Execution of the Sentence pronounc'd againſt 'em; with very earneſt and repeated Importunities St. *Chryſoſtome* and theſe Hermits obtain'd a Reprieve from the Judges, till a Report of their whole Proceedings had been made to the Emperor, and his further Pleaſure were known. None ſeem'd more ready, or indeed more proper to appear before *Theodoſius* in behalf of the almoſt deſolate City, than *Flavian*, Biſhop of the Place; who foreſeeing the Danger, undertook the Employment ſhortly after the Fact was committed, and before the Commiſſioners ſent by *Theodoſius* were arriv'd; and when he came to *Conſtantinople* found the Emperor highly incens'd againſt them, however by his perſuaſive Carriage and pathetical Entreaties he obtain'd his Deſire. The Emperor repreſented to him, in a long and lively Expoſtulation, the Kindneſs he had ever expreſs'd to that City, ask'd him *what ill Offices he had ever done 'em that could provoke 'em to ſo undutiful a Reſentment, which not content to offer Indignities*

gnities to the Living, broke out in moſt inhuman ry againſt the Dead. He told him, *he had ever* ferr'd Antioch *to all other Cities, and in the height his Proſperity earneſtly deſir'd to ſee it, promiſing re Satisfaction to himſelf from that than all his perial Pomp and outward Enjoyments. Flavian* gan his Anſwer with a hearty Acknowledgment of eir Inſolence and Ingratitude, which he aggrava- to the Emperor, confeſſing to him, *That Fire d the Sword were Puniſhments too mild and gentle their Offences, of which they were now ſo truly ſible, and of their undutiful Returns to ſo indul- t a Prince, that they dreaded his Anger more than ile or Captivity:* He reminded him of the Duty a Chriſtian, *who ought to imitate the Mercy and bearance of God Almighty; and ſhew'd him how r he would approach that Divine Original, if he uld reſtore the diſconſolate City to his Grace and vour.* He told him, *He had now an Opportunity making himſelf a laſting Example to all Poſterity of mency and good Nature; that it was in his power naiſe as from the Dead his miſerable Subjects, who a juſt Senſe and Apprehenſion of his Diſpleaſure e dying already, even before the Sentence was de- nc'd againſt 'em.* In a Word, this admirable eech, as it is repreſented at large in St. *Chryſoſtome*, ov'd ſo efficacious with the Emperor, that he uld not reſtrain from Tears, but immediately ſent *vian* back to put a ſtop to the Proceedings of the mmiſſioners, to reſtore the City to her ancient berties and Privileges, and the Citizens to his ve and Protection. The News of his Succeſs w quick before him to *Antioch*, and was receiv'd th ſo univerſal a Joy, that almoſt the whole Ci- went out to meet their Holy Biſhop on the Way, d uſher'd him in with Songs and Acclamations, nding the Day in Feaſts and Triumphs, as if *An-*

ticoh

tioch had now begun, and the Day which reſtor her to her forfeited Honours, had been the fi that gave a Being to 'em.

This Matter being ſo happily ended, *Theodoſ* found himſelf more at leiſure to proſecute his D ſigns againſt *Maximus*, who toward the latter e of this Year had broken into *Italy*, and driven aw *Valentinian*, who, with *Juſtina* his Mother and h Siſter *Galla*, fled to *Theſſalonica* in *Illyricum*, wh ther *Theodoſius* went to meet him.

For we are to underſtand that *Maximus*, after had fully ſecur'd to his Obedience moſt of tho Nations who obey'd *Gratian*, thought his Wo but half done, 'till he had ſtrengthen'd himſelf t the Addition of *Valentinian*'s Share too, and ſe him to follow his Brother's Fortune. *Valentini* had lately ſent *Domninus*, a *Syrian*, in an Embaſſie him. This *Domninus* was a Perſon of great Eſteem and particularly regarded by the Emperor, who h a great Confidence in him, and made him a Partn of all his Secrets. *Maximus* receiv'd this Ambaſſ dor with great Civility, entertain'd him with muc Magnificence, and expreſs'd himſelf with ſo muc Tenderneſs towards *Valentinian*, that he thought h Maſter infinitely happy in ſo ſincere a Friend. T Tyrant had long been contriving in ſecret wh Courſe he was to take to march his Army into *It ly*; the long and uſual Way over the *Alps* would dangerous for ſo great a Body of Men, and affo *Valentinian* Time to prepare for his Reception; a to thoſe nearer and more commodious Paſſages was an utter Stranger: But now the better to co paſs his Deſigns, he deliver'd part of his Army in *Domninus* his Hands, as for the Emperor's Uſe, ſerve him againſt the Barbarians that began to inf *Pannonia*; with which unexpected Supply *Dom nus* return'd, wonderfully exalted at the Succeſs

Maximus *his Policy.*

his Negotiations, and march'd at the Head of his Forces the neareſt and ſafeſt Way into *Italy*. *Maximus*, who found his Stratagem met with the deſir'd Effect, follow'd with the reſt of the Army at a convenient Diſtance behind, ſending ſome light Parties before him, who were to obſerve the way *Dominus* took, and intercept all they met, and by that Means keep his Expedition ſecret. His Orders were ſo exactly obſerv'd, that he got ſafe into *Italy* without meeting any Enemy to oppoſe him, and directed his Courſe immediately to *Aquileia*. *Valentinian* was ſo much terrify'd at his unexpected Approach, that he immediately embark'd with his Mother and Siſter, and ſet ſail for *Theſſalonica*; where when he was arriv'd he ſent and intreated *Theodoſius to chaſtiſe the Uſurper, for the Injuries offer'd to the Family of* Valentinian. Hereupon *Theodoſius* remov'd with ſome of the Senate to *Theſſalonica*, where it was reſolv'd in Council to puniſh *Maximus*, who had not only by his treaſonable Practices murder'd *Gratian* and uſurp'd his Authority, but attempted the ſame upon *Valentinian*, and had now driven him out of his Dominions. Purſuant to this Reſolution *Theodoſius* prepar'd to march againſt him, and having promoted ſuch Perſons to the chief Offices in the Provinces, as he knew would in his Abſence have a regard to the Good of his Subjects, he made *Promotus* General of the Foot, and *Timaſius* of the Horſe. He ſent the Empreſs *Juſtina*, with her Son and Daughter under a good Guard to *Rome*, prudently conceiving that by their Preſence they would encourage the Inhabitants to defend the City againſt any Attempts of *Maximus*, to whom he knew the Citizens were generally diſaffected; reſolving himſelf to march through the upper *Pannonia*, and fall on a ſudden upon the Enemy from the *Appennine* Mountains. *Maximus*, who continu'd all this

Theodoſius *reſolves to chaſtiſe* Maximus.

A. D. 388.

while at *Aquileia*, had notice of the Preparation that were making againſt him, and us'd all his Endeavours to diſappoint and prevent him. He had by mighty Promiſes perſuaded the Barbarians, in conjunction with the *Roman* Legions, by way of Diverſion to revolt, and find *Theodoſius* work in *Thrace* and give him the more time to confirm his Power in *Italy*. Of theſe his Practices the Emperor had timely Intelligence, and broke all his Meaſures by ſending a ſufficient Number of Troops, that diſperſed the Barbarians before they could unite themſelves into any conſiderable Body, and having ſettled all things in thoſe Quarters he prepar'd for his Expedition.

Maximus being inform'd that *Juſtina* deſign'd to croſs the *Ionian* Gulf in her way to *Rome*, mann'd out a few Pinnaces, and ſent *Andragathius* if poſſible to intercept her; who, tho' he us'd the utmoſt Expedition, fail'd of his Deſign, for ſhe had paſs'd the Gulf before his Arrival; whereupon he ſtrengthen'd his Squadron by the Acceſſion of ſeveral other Ships, deſigning to diſpute the Paſſage with *Theodoſius*, who he thought would tranſport his Forces over the Sea. But the Emperor, purſuant to his former Reſolutions, directed his March towards *Pannonia*, and the *Appennines*; whilſt *Maximus*, believing as he thought ſecur'd himſelf of *Italy* and *Africk*, was intent upon raiſing Mony, making uſe of the vileſt and moſt ſhameful Means that would ſerve to his Purpoſe, 'till the News of *Theodoſius* his Preparations diverted him from his Extortions. As ſoon as he was inform'd of the Emperor's Motions he march'd at the Head of his Army over the *Julian Alps* into *Pannonia*, to make ſure of the Paſſes in thoſe Quarters, and having fortify'd *Petovio* which was ſurrender'd to him, he mov'd with his Expedition to *Sciſcia*, call'd at preſent *Seſcec*, whe

e ſtaid to refreſh his Army. Thither *Theodoſius* dvanced againſt him, and having paſs'd the *Save* e drew his Men out and offer'd him Battel, which e accepted and was defeated, tho' his Men fought ith a great deal of Courage and Reſolution. This ictory, which was very extraordinary, coſt *Theo-ſius* but a few Men, the Loſs of whom was more an ſupply'd by a part of *Maximus* his Army, hich ſurrender'd themſelves up to him. From hence e march'd againſt *Marcellinus*, Brother to the U-rper, who had ſtrengthen'd himſelf at *Petovio*, not *adua*, as ſome have miſtaken it, whom he totally uted; and purſuing the courſe of his Fortune, he llow'd *Maximus* cloſe upon the Heels, and ſate own before *Aquileia*, where the Uſurper had ſe-ured himſelf, and provided for a Siege, which *eodoſius* puſh'd on with much Vigour. They ithin defended themſelves at firſt with much Bra-ry, but finding the Emperor reſolv'd to carry the own, and obſerving *Maximus* to deſpond, and as were ſhake off that Sovereignty he had ſo tyran-ically uſurp'd, they ſeiz'd upon him, bound him, d preſented him to *Theodoſius*, having firſt ſtrip'd im of his Imperial Ornaments. The Emperor be-eld him with Eyes of Compaſſion, and out of a juſt enſe of Fortune's Inconſtancy had pardon'd him, ad not thoſe about him perceiv'd it in his Looks, hich melted with Pity towards him, and taking im out of ſight cut off his Head, without any rder from *Theodoſius*. *Andragathius*, whom *Maxi-us* had made his Admiral, as we obſerv'd before, earing of the Tyrant's Defeat as he has cruiſing and fro upon the *Ionian* Bay, threw himſelf head-ng into the Sea, there to receive the Reward due his Cruelty and Treaſon: And *Victor*, the Son of *Maximus*, who had been declared *Auguſtus* by his ather, and left to command in *Gaul*, was defeated,

Maximus *overthrown*

retires to Aquileia,

where he is taken,

and be-headed,

taken, and ſlain, by *Arbogaſtes*, whom *Valentinia* had ſent thither for that purpoſe. Thus did *Theo* *doſius* by his Vigour and Conduct put a ſpeedy En to a War, which at firſt promis'd it ſelf a long Continuance, and threaten'd the Empire with a gre many Calamities. And the Honour and Reputat on he acquir'd in his Succeſs, was highly improv by his Moderation and Clemency in the uſe of i for he not only ſettled *Valentinian* in the peaceab Poſſeſſion of *Italy*, his own Share of the Empire, b relinquiſh'd to him *Gaul*, and *Spain*, and *Britai* with whatever elſe the Tyrant had ſeiz'd on af the Murder of *Gratian*, being ſatisfy'd with the Go he had done, without drawing any particular A vantage from it to himſelf. And ſo far was he fr oppreſſing *Maximus* his Friends and Relations, t except two or three of the moſt ſeditious, who w put to Death as an Example of Terror to othe he pardon'd all thoſe who had embrac'd the Uſ per's Intereſt; ſo that under ſo merciful a Conqu ror they felt not that they were conquer'd. He ſe for *Maximus* his Wife and Daughters out of th Confinement, ſettled an honourable Penſion up 'em for their Lives, and charged a near Kinſman their own to take care of their Intereſts, and that no Body oppreſs'd 'em.

Theodoſius his great Moderation and Clemency.

Theodoſius continu'd the reſt of this Year partly *Aquileia*, and partly at *Milan*, where he publiſ an Edict on the 9th of *October*, by which he voked all the publick Acts made by *Maximus*, wh he terms *Infandiſſimus Tyrannorum*; but the Y following he went with *Valentinian* and his Son *norius* to *Rome*, and reſided there the greateſt p of the Summer. Here he was receiv'd with all Reſpect due to his Perſon and Dignity; and wh he was follow'd with Applauſes and Acclamati from the Senate and People, for his late Suc

A. D. 389.

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ainſt *Maximus*, he behav'd himſelf in every re-
ect with the profoundeſt Humility, appropriating
thing to himſelf, but referring all to God Al-
ighty, who had choſen *Valentinian* and himſelf
his Inſtruments of Revenge upon a Tyrant and
ſurper. During his Reſidence in this City he
bour'd ſeriouſly in the Suppreſſion of Idolatry,
utting up the Temples of the Heathen Deities,
mmanding their Statues to be remov'd from
ence, and to be erected in the Publick Parts of the
y to ſerve as Ornaments to it. The Chriſtian
habitants, animated by the Zeal *Theodoſius* ex-
ſs'd for Religion, broke down the Images, thoſe
teſted Objects of Idolatry; and, if we may believe
ximus, ſeiz'd upon the precious Ornaments with
hich the Ignorance and Superſtition of former
ges had wonderfully enrich'd 'em; and what ſeem'd
concern him more nearly than all the reſt, burnt
Books of the *Sybills*, the Sacred Oracles of the
gotted Heathens, and thereby gave a fatal Stroke
Paganiſm; from whence we may gather how
uch they are in the right, who affirm, that the
oks that appear under that Quality at preſent are
ppoſititious, ſent into the World by ſome Peſtilent
n in the early Days of Chriſtianity, to pervert
d corrupt a great many well-meaning Men in
Times ſucceeding, and give Birth to ſome dan-
rous and mortal Errors that by degrees crept in-
the Church. As the Emperor's Preſence and
thority encourag'd the Chriſtians at *Rome* to ex-
pate Idolatry, ſo did his Example inſpire the *A-
andrians* in *Egypt* with the like Zeal, which
wever made a greater Noiſe, and occaſion'd the
uſion of ſome Blood. *Theophilus*, Biſhop of
exandria, had begg'd of the Emperor an old
athen Temple, at that time ruin'd and forſaken,
convert it to a Chriſtian Church, to which the

He commands the Heathen Temples at Rome to be ſhut up.

A bloody Tumult at Alexandria

Emperor readily condeſcended. As they we
clearing it of the Rubbiſh, the Workmen found
mong the Ruins ſeveral filthy obſcene Figures
Priapus, which the Biſhop order'd to be expo
in Publick, to ridicule the Superſtition of the a
cient *Egyptians*; and about the ſame time they
ſcover'd their Subterraneous Grottoes, where th
uſually perform'd their abominable Sacrifices. T
Heathens, exceedingly ſcandaliz'd at theſe Affron
fell in great Fury upon the Chriſtians, ſome of wh
they wounded, others they kill'd; and ſeizing up
the Temple of *Serapis*, built upon a Hill by
of the firſt Kings of *Egypt*, call'd *Seſoſtris*, t
fortify'd it, and in their frequent Excurſions ſe
upon the Chriſtians, whom they conſtrain'd to
crifice to their Idol, or upon their Refuſal t
fix'd 'em upon a Croſs, where they were put to
ſpeakable Torments. The Emperor being infor
of this Tumult, gave Order to the Magiſtrate
the City, *Not to revenge upon the* Pagans *the De
of thoſe who had obtain'd the Crown of Martyr
at their Hands, but rather pardon 'em, and try
gentle Methods to win 'em over to Chriſtianity*;
however he commanded 'em *to deſtroy all the T
ple that had given Birth to the Sedition*; theſe
ders were exactly obſerv'd to the great Joy of
Chriſtians, and Confuſion of their Adverſaries,
had been taught by their Traditions, that the
undations of the River *Nile*, from whence proc
ed the Fertility of their Country, was owing
the benign Influence of their God *Serapis*;
they concluded therefore, that now he was deſtro
the River would no longer overflow, the Co
quence of which would be an univerſal Fam
but when afterwards they obſerv'd on the cont
that the *Nile* ſwell'd to a much higher degree
had been known in the Memory of Man,
the

hereby produc'd a great Plenty of all manner of rovisions, a great many of the Heathens renounc'd eir Ancient Errors, and worſhipp'd the God of e Chriſtians, who makes the Sun to riſe, and the ain deſcend upon the Earth.

Theodoſius, before he left *Rome*, is ſaid effectual- to have reform'd two abominable Abuſes, which ere at that time a great Scandal and Diſgrace to at Queen of Cities, as *Socrates* terms her; there ere large and ancient Buildings in *Rome*, reſerv'd Store-houſes of Bread wherewith the City was pply'd; under theſe Buildings were the Bake-ouſes, and on each ſide of 'em, through the Con-vance of the Overſeers, were built Victualling and ipling Houſes, where Women were entertain'd for wd Purpoſes, and many who reſorted thither, ther to ſatisfie their Hunger, or gratifie their Luſt, ere ſtripp'd of all they had, and commonly ſo ſpos'd of, by means of a private Conveyance out thoſe Tipling Houſes into the blind Bake-Houſe neath, where they were compell'd to Grind, and kept in perpetual Slavery, that their Friends could ver hear of 'em after. It happen'd that one of e Emperor's Soldiers was thrown into this Hole, d ſo receiv'd into the blind Bake-Houſe, where, ding himſelf like to be made a Slave, he drew s Dagger, of which they had forgot to diſarm m, and killing all thoſe that oppos'd his Paſſage, eſcap'd, and got means to inform the Emperor it, who immediately commanded the Overſeers be puniſh'd as they deſerv'd, and order'd their ouſes, the Receptacles of Thieves, to be demo-h'd. The other Abuſe, which he took care to ve remov'd, was this. It was cuſtomary in *Rome* inflict ſuch a Puniſhment on a Woman taken in dultery, as remov'd not the Sin, but increas'd the ice, for they confin'd her to narrow Stews, where

Theodoſius *reforms ſome things at* Rome.

ſhe was compell'd to proſtitute her ſelf, without a
ny Shame, to ſuch Adventurers as were provide
for her; and whilſt the Deed was doing her Neigh
bours were inform'd by the means of ſome ſound
ing Veſſel prepar'd for that purpoſe, that ſhe was th
Moment under Correction; this horrible Cuſtom *Th*
odoſius aboliſh'd, and enacted other Laws for the Pu
niſhment of Women taken in Adultery. For the laſt
theſe Stories the Reader has no more than *Socrates* h
Word, and therefore he is at Liberty to believe it
not, but the other is ſupported with better Authorit

A. D. 390. From *Rome* both the Emperors remov'd by th
way of *Valentia* to *Milan*, when *Valentinian* w
declar'd the fourth time Conſul, together with *M*
otherius, and as if he had ſome Jealouſie of wh
ſhortly after follow'd, he publiſh'd an Order th
no one ſhould be admitted to attend upon his Pe
ſon, but ſuch as had firſt receiv'd his own Appr
bation; the Year following *Theodoſius* remov'd t
wards the Eaſt, being accompany'd by *Valentini*
as far as *Aquileia*, where he left him; and proce
ing on his Way to *Conſtantinople*, he arriv'd at *Th*
ſalonica, where he found the Affairs of *Macedo*
to be in a great Confuſion; for the Barbarians, wh
at the Inſtigation of *Maximus*, had revolted ju
as he was entring upon his Expedition againſt t
Uſurper, and upon his ſending a part of his Forc
to reduce 'em, had ſecur'd themſelves among t
Lakes and Faſtneſſes in the Woods, taking the A
vantage of his Abſence, broke out of their Hol
and ravag'd *Theſſaly* and *Macedonia* without a
Oppoſition, diſpoſing of the Lives and Fortunes
the Inhabitants at their own Pleaſures; but as ſo
as they heard of the Emperor's Succeſs, and
Return, they again withdrew into their Dens, fr
whence they ſtole out ſecretly in the Night-ti
and ſeizing on whatſoever came in their way, t
retur

turn'd with their Booty before the Morning Light. These ſecret Excurſions, and nocturnal Depredations, made *Theodoſius* imagine the Aggreſſors were Spirits and Apparitions, rather than Men; but being reſolv'd, if poſſible, to find out the Truth, without diſcovering his Deſigns to any one, he made choice of five Perſons in whom he could truſt to attend him, ordering 'em to take three or four ſpare Horſes a-piece, that they might ſhift as often as there was occaſion. Thus attended, and in a Diſguiſe, he rang'd about the Country, receiving from the Peaſants ſuch Refreſhments as their Cottages could afford him. At length he came to a ſmall Inn, kept by an old Woman, who receiv'd him very civilly, entertaining him with Wine and what other Conveniences ſhe had in the Houſe, and Night coming on he was perſuaded to Lodge there till the Morning; when he was retir'd into his Chamber he obſerv'd a certain Man, who declin'd Converſing with him, and ſeem'd deſirous to conceal himſelf. The Emperor, ſurpriz'd at his Carriage, calls for his Hoſteſs, and demands of her who that Perſon was; ſhe anſwer'd, *that who he was ſhe knew not, but ever ſince the News of the Emperor's Return with the Army out of the Weſt this Man had lodg'd at her Houſe, going out in the Morning, and continuing abroad all Day, but at Night repair'd home, as from Work, to his Supper, and his Lodging, for which he honeſtly paid her.* Upon this Information the Emperor order'd the Man to be ſeiz'd, and commanded him to declare who and what he was; which he refus'd with much Obſtinacy, 'till the Emperor had declar'd himſelf to him, and his Followers had with ſeveral Tortures forc'd the Truth out of him; then he confeſs'd that he was employ'd, as a Spy, by the Barbarians that lay among the Bogs, to give 'em Intelligence from

time

time to time where he lay with his Army, and what Perſons and Places lay the moſt commodious for their Incurſions.

He defeats the Barbarians.

Hereupon the Emperor caus'd his Head to be ſtruck off, and returning early the next Morning to the Army, led his Soldiers to that Place where he had learnt from the Spy the Barbarians were lodg'd, and falling at an Advantage upon 'em, deſtroy'd a great Number of 'em, killing the moſt reſolute as they defended themſelves in the Bogs, and dragging the reſt out of their Retirements. One *Timaſius* had at this time a Principal Command in the Army, who, according to *Zozimus*, could not but admire the extraordinary Courage of the Emperor, who appear'd the formoſt in all Dangers; but conceiving the greateſt number of the Barbarians to be Slain, and that the reſt could not eſcape them whom therefore they might purſue at their leiſure, deſir'd the Emperor would allow the weary and hungry Soldiers time to refreſh themſelves after ſo warm and deſperate a Service, to which *Theodoſius* readily conſented, ſo that ſounding a Retreat they gave over the Purſuit, and falling to with more Appetite then Diſcretion, they firſt overcame themſelves with Wine, and then fell faſt aſleep, and thereby gave the Barbarians an Advantage they were too wary to omit. They fell with great Fury upon the *Romans*, who were unprepar'd to defend themſelves againſt an Enemy they thought already vanquiſh'd, and had deſtroy'd the Emperor himſelf, had he not been ſeaſonably reliev'd by *Promotus*, who reſcu'd his Maſter at the great Hazard of his own Life. This piece of Service undoubtedly deſerv'd a great Reward, but ſuch, according to *Zozimus*, was the unhappy Influence *Ruſinus*, a Perſon we ſhall hear more of hereafter had upon this Emperor, that he procur'd him to

He is in great Danger.

mu

murder'd; tho' whether this was done by *Theodoſius* his Privity, or *Ruſinus* his treacherous Practices with the Barbarians, by whoſe Hands he fell, remains ſtill a Doubt among the other Hiſtorians of thoſe Times. Certain it is *Ruſinus* was a Perſon of great Intereſt with the Emperor, and being a Man of a bold aſpiring Temper, he look'd on *Promotus* as a great Obſtacle to his ambitious Deſigns.

The Emperor had hitherto try'd by Force of Arms to reſtrain thoſe Rovers, but the more effectually to ſuppreſs 'em he publiſh'd a Law, by which the Provincials of *Macedonia* had Power to reſiſt, and cut off thoſe who enter'd upon their Poſſeſſions, or lay lurking in the High-way; thereby abrogating an old Edict, forbidding any private Man to levy War without the Knowledge or Approbation of the Emperor,

At his Arrival at *Conſtantinople*, *Fl. Arcadius* the ſecond time, and *Ruſinus* were declar'd Conſuls; there finding himſelf for the preſent free from any Foreign Diſturbances, he began diligently to enquire into the Corruptions that had lately crept into the State, reforming by ſeveral wholeſom but ſevere Laws a great many Abuſes, that during the Publick Calamities had been practiſed by his Officers. From this his Fatherly Care he was diverted by News out of the Weſt, where *Valentinian* was found ſtrangled in his Palace. *Theodoſius*, during his Stay in *Italy*, had, as we obſerv'd before, us'd all means to extirpate Heatheniſm, reſtraining by his Authority thoſe who appear'd the moſt zealous Patrons for it; but at his Return they began to conceive new Hopes, and apply'd to *Valentinian* for his Favour and Protection, which when they were deny'd they enter'd upon new Meaſures, and conſulted how to purchaſe a Toleration at the price of Treaſon. *Arbogaſtes*, a *Frank* by Nation, had at this time A. D. 392.

time the Chief Command in the Army; he ow'd his firſt Preferment to *Gratian*, and after his Death wonderfully gain'd upon the Soldiers, who eſteem'd him for his Experience in Military Affairs, and his great Contempt of Mony, and made him General without the Participation of *Valentinian*, ſo that he arrogated a Power to himſelf of controlling the Emperor, and reprehending him for whatever he thought done amiſs. To him the diſaffected Party apply'd themſelves, and encourag'd him to deſtroy that Power he had already ſupplanted. About this time *Valentinian* was inform'd the Barbarians began to threaten the Borders of *Italy*, and being then in *Gaul* reſolv'd to March againſt 'em, and chaſtiſe their Inſolence; but whilſt he was conſulting in Council the propereſt Means to forward his Expedition, he was thwarted in all his Deſigns by *Arbogaſtes*, with whoſe Inſolence he was ſo much provok'd that he drew out his Sword, and attempted to kill him, declaring *he had rather kill himſelf than bear the Title of Emperor without enjoying the Authority*; but being with-held by ſome who ſtood near him, he threw *Arbogaſtes* a Paper, which contain'd an Abrogation of his Command: *Arbogaſtes*, when he had perus'd the Contents of it, tore it in pieces, declaring *that he receiv'd not his Authority from him, nor ſhould it be in his Power to diveſt him of it*; and from this time us'd the unfortunate Prince more like a Priſoner than his Soveraign, diſpoſing of the Chief Commands in the Army according to his own Pleaſure, and placing ſuch about him, who obſerv'd him rather as Spies, than obey'd him as Servants. In this melancholy Condition *Valentinian* ſent and deſir'd Aid from *Theodoſius*; but *Arbogaſtes* was gone ſo far now, that he found it neceſſary to proceed farther, and made good that old Saying, "That there is but a ſmall diſtance betwee

"the

the Priſons and Graves of Princes; and therefore got him privately to be murder'd at *Vienna* in *France*; having corrupted ſome of the Officers belonging to his Chamber, who ſtrangled him whilſt he was aſleep, and tying a Cord about his Neck hung him up, that the World might be induc'd to think he kill'd himſelf, and not tax them with his Murder. *Arbogaſtes* had no mind to appear guilty of ſo barbarous a Treaſon himſelf, and therefore would not openly uſurp the Imperial Authority, but choſe rather to confer it on *Eugenius*, who was to be Prince only by his Permiſſion and Allowance. *Eugenius* was a Man of great Learning, an accompliſh'd Orator, elegant and facetious, but very uncapable of the Sovereign Dignity to which he was deſign'd. Tho' *Arbogaſtes* endeavour'd to divert from himſelf the Odium of ſo unnatural a Treaſon, yet he is charged with it by all the Writers of that Age, who however ſeem not to condemn him ſo much as his Guilt deſerv'd; whether this proceeded from the Hopes they at firſt conceiv'd of *Eugenius*, or out of Complaiſance to *Theodoſius*, who in the end was a Gainer by his Death, having the Sovereign Authority united in his own Family, is hard to determine.

Valentinian *murder'd.*

Eugenius *uſurps.*

The Eccleſiaſtical Writers ſay his Death was a publick Loſs to the World, and even *Zozimus* himſelf raiſes no Charge againſt him. Had he been ſuffer'd to live longer he had undoubtedly proved an excellent Prince, being of a lively Spirit, valiant, ſober, liberal, ſincere in his Friendſhip, and devout in his Religion. He had in his Youth been committed to the Care of St. *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of *Milan*, whoſe Inſtructions made him an Enemy to Vice before he was capable of learning what it was. Tho' he was young he was an abſolute Maſter of his Paſſions, and was generally more ſevere to himſelf than he

The Character of Valentinian.

he was to others. He was murder'd at *Vienna* in *France*, after he had reign'd ſixteen Years and a half, and lived upwards of twenty.

IV. Tho' all good Men were ſenſibly afflicted at the Death of this innocent Prince, none appear'd ſo nearly touch'd as *Theodoſius*, who had now loſt a Collegue and Allie in the flower of his Age, deſtroy'd by the treaſonable Practices of thoſe, of whom he had great Reaſon to be jealous; for *Arbogaſtes* was bold and valiant, and *Eugenius* renown'd for his Learning and other Virtues; ſo that he made all Preparations poſſible for a War: In the midſt of which Ambaſſadors arriv'd from *Eugenius* the Uſurper, who without taking the leaſt notice of *Arbogaſtes*, demanded of him if he would admit of *Eugenius* for his Collegue, or conſider him as his Enemy. *Theodoſius*, according to his Cuſtom, amuſed the Ambaſſadors with fair Words and Royal Preſents, diſmiſſing 'em with ambiguous Anſwers, whilſt he apply'd himſelf with great Diligence to his Military Preparations, in which he ſpent almoſt two Years, concealing as much as poſſible his Deſigns 'till he was able to put 'em in execution. Like a Chriſtian he made uſe of the Means Chriſtianity ſuggeſted to him, in order to obtain the Divine Favour, publiſhing a new Edict at *Conſtantinople* againſt the Heathen Worſhip, and reviving the ancient Laws againſt Heretricks, their Ordinations and Aſſemblies; and like a Father of his People abrogated an old Law, which puniſh'd thoſe with Death, who ſpoke ſeditious Words againſt the Prince; *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *if they proceed from Levity they are to be deſpiſed, if from Madneſs to be pitied, if from Malice to be forgiven.*

A. D. 393. The Beginning of this Year *Theodoſius* had declared his Younger Son *Honorius* Emperor, and intending to leave *Arcadius* behind at *Conſtantinople*

HONORIUS *declared Emperor.*

committed him to the Care of *Rufinus*, who was
ereby veſted with almoſt an unlimited Power.
he Emperor ſtrengthen'd his own regular Troops
ith the Addition of ſeveral Barbarians inhabiting
e other ſide the *Danube* and *Euxine* Sea, who
ade him a voluntary Offer of their Service, and
ere of great uſe to him in this War, under the
onduct of *Alarich* the *Goth*, who afterwards took
ome, and was the firſt that led the Barbarians into
aly. For during this War they had an Opportu-
ty of viewing the Country, of obſerving the moſt
vantageous Paſſes, the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil,
rength of the State, and Number of the Inhabitants;
d ſo were the better encourag'd to return after-
ards with greater Numbers, and ſubdue thoſe they
ere now come to ſerve. Having appointed *Tima-*
s, *Bacurius*, and *Stilicho*, who had marry'd his
other's Daughter, Commanders in chief, he be-
n his Expedition the thirteenth of *March* the Year
llowing, directing his March through *Thrace* into
annonia, and deſigning from thence to break thro'
e *Julian Alps* into *Italy*, which the Uſurper had
ely got into his own Power, and being arrived at
ilan, tho' he had hitherto made a Profeſſion of
riſtianity, he turn'd aſide to the heatheniſh Su-
rſtitions at the Inſtigation chiefly of *Flavianus*,
æfect of *Rome*, who promis'd him mighty Ad-
ntages from the Inſpection of the Sacrifices, and
bſervation of the Stars; aſſuring him *he was de-*
n'd by Fate to reſtore the ancient Greatneſs and
ligion of the Romans, *and that he would in time*
ſole Emperor of the World. Hereupon he was
rſuaded to allow 'em the free Exerciſe of their
eligion, to re-edifie the Altar of Victory, and
hatever elſe had been formerly deny'd 'em by the
mperors *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian:* And hearing
Theodoſius his Forwardneſs he muſter'd his For-
ces,

ces, and ſo ſet out from *Milan*, accompany'd b
Arbogaſtes and *Flavianus*, whom he had made h
Lieutenant-Generals, ſwearing publi kly at his D
parture, *that if ever he liv'd to return victorious*
would put all the Prieſts to death, and make a St
ble of the great Church; becauſe looking upon hi
as an Apoſtate and Uſurper, they would not acce
of his Offerings, nor ſuffer him to communicate
Prayer with the reſt of the Faithful.

Eugenius uſed ſo much Diligence in his Marc
that a detatch'd Party had ſeiz'd on the *Julian Alp*
before *Theodoſius* could come up, who however a
tack'd the Guards with ſo much Bravery and Re
lution, that he eaſily beat 'em out of that advant
geous Poſt. *Flavian* the Præfect, fighting wi
much Obſtinacy, was ſlain in this Action, in whc
Fall *Eugenius* his Party ſuffer'd a conſiderable Lo
Theodoſius, truſting to his Cauſe, and his propitio
Fortune, puſh'd on with great Alacrity, and havi
without much Difficulty paſs'd the Mountain,
deſcended with all his Forces into the Plain, whe
he offer'd his Enemy Battel, which *Eugenius* wi
great Readineſs accepted. The Emperor diſpo
his Army into two Battalions, one conſiſting of t
Barbarians, under the Command of *Gaines* and *E*
curius, the other of *Romans* led on by *Stilich*
encouraging his Soldiers by his Preſence and D
courſe, admoniſhing 'em *to behave themſelves l*
Men, confiding in the Protection of their Savio
under whoſe Banner they fought. On the oth
ſide *Eugenius* had erected the Standard of *Hercul*
and behav'd himſelf like a Man ſure of Victo
deluded by the vain Promiſes of the Heathen Prie
who in the Name of their Deities had promis'd h
an entire Conqueſt. At a Signal given both Arm
engag'd, and *Zozimus* ſaith that during the Fig
there happen'd ſo great an Eclipſe, that for a lo
ti

Theodoſius *engages with* Eugenius.

ime the Sun was almoſt totally darken'd; however
he Fight continu'd with great Slaughter, 'till in the
nd *Eugenius* prevail'd, for the Barbarians being un-
ble to ſtand the Shock of the *Roman* Legions gave
round, and were moſt of 'em cut off together with
acurius their Commander. Night coming on both
arties retreated to their Camps, where *Eugenius*,
oncluding himſelf the Victor, and that nothing was
o be fear'd from *Theodoſius* after ſo great a Defeat,
ewarded ſuch of his Men as had behav'd themſelves
eſt, diſmiſſing 'em all to their Eaſe and Refreſh-
ent. In the mean time *Theodoſius* was adviſ'd by
ch as were about him not to hazard a ſecond En-
agement, but rely upon the Fortune of another
ampaign, againſt which time he would have lei-
re to recruit his Army, and be able to match his
nemy with an equal Number of Men; but the
mperor, collecting the Remainder of his Forces by
reak of Day, fell with an unexpected Bravery up-
n the Enemy, ſecurely ſleeping in their Camp,
illing all ſuch who had not time to make any De-
nce or beg for Quarter, and by this means reſcu-
d the Victory out of the Hands of a preſumptu-
us Uſurper, who ſeem'd to want nothing but the
ead of *Theodoſius* to crown his Succeſs. This is
hiefly the Account *Zozimus* gives of the Fight, in
he Subſtance of which he agrees with others that
ave writ concerning it, only they make no menti-
n of an Eclipſe, inſtead of which they aſſure us
hat in the ſecond Engagement ſo violent a Tempeſt
roſe, as the Memory of Man could not equal, that
drove ſo furiouſly upon the Army of the Uſur-
er that it turn'd their Arrows and Javelins back
pon themſelves, and rais'd ſo great a Duſt as de-
riv'd them of their Sight, ſo that having two E-
emies to encounter at once they were quickly o-
erthrown. In the beginning of the Fight *Eugeni-*

and defeats him.

us had promis'd a great Reward to thoſe who ſhou
bring him *Theodoſius* alive or dead, thinking it im
poſſible for him to eſcape; but now aſtoniſh'd at th
impetuous Violence of the Tempeſt, and conclu
ing from thence that they fought againſt Providenc
ſeveral of his Troops deſpairing of Succeſs went a
ſurrender'd themſelves to the Emperor, beggi
Pardon for their Offence, and ſwearing an inviolab
Loyalty for the future. *Theodoſius* receiv'd 'em i
to Grace, and order'd 'em to bring *Eugenius* in
his Preſence. The Uſurper obſerving ſome comi
in great haſte towards him concluded they broug
him News of the Victory, and inſtantly ask'd
they had not ſecur'd *Theodoſius*; they return'd hi
Eugenius *taken,* no Anſwer, but to his Aſtoniſhment bound him a
hurry'd him away to the Emperor, who reproach
him for his Cruelty towards his Maſter *Valentinia*
accus'd him for the Calamities he had by the W
brought upon the Empire, and upbraided him
putting his Confidence in *Hercules*, in Diſtruſt a
Defiance of the only true God; and without wa
and beheaded. ing for his Anſwer order'd his Head to be ſtruck
Arbogaſtes, whoſe Conſcience told him he had gr
reaſon to expect the ſame Puniſhment, turn'd
own Executioner, and laid violent Hands upon hi
ſelf; tho' the good Emperor made the ſame Uſe
this Victory as he had done of thoſe that preced
bewailing the innocent Blood that had been ſpilt
the War, and as if he himſelf had been the Auth
of it, for which reaſon he abſtain'd for ſome ti
from participating in the holy Myſteries of the
Theodoſius *his Moderation.* chariſt. The Children of *Eugenius* and *Flavian*
great Reaſon to think they were to ſuffer for the
bellion of their Fathers, and therefore betook the
ſelves to Sanctuary, but by the Interceſſion of St. A
broſe, who came to *Aquileia* there to congratu
Theodoſius for his late Victory, the Emperor
o

nly pardon'd them, but gave Order to have 'em nſtructed and confirm'd in the Principles of the true Religion, and to be advanc'd to honourable Employments in the State; acquiring not ſo much Glory om his Succeſs in the Field, as from ſuch Actions theſe, truly worthy a Chriſtian Prince, never enough to be commended, imitated, and admired. rom *Aquileia* he remov'd to *Milan*, whither his on *Honorius* came, according to his Order, from *nſtantinople* to attend him; for he now found himlf indiſpoſed, and inclinable to a Dropſie, which rry'd him off in a ſhort time after.

About this time, ſeveral Countries were ſhaken ith violent Earthquakes, others were drown'd with ceſſive Rains, attended by ſo great a Darkneſs as d not been obſerv'd for a long time before; all hich the Hiſtorians of thoſe times ſeem to apply Omens deſign'd to uſher in the Fall of that great lan, and the Loſs the *Roman* Empire was to ſuain in his Death. He was now arriv'd at the eight of Human Happineſs, for he had not only ndicated the Imperial Authority from Uſurpation d Tyranny, but exercis'd it without a Competi-r, and united it in his own Family. He was faithlly ſerv'd by his Subjects, and admir'd by his ry Enemies; and tho' he found it impoſſible to tirpate the Barbarians that had taken too deep a oot within the *Roman* Pale, yet he repreſs'd and ſome meaſure civiliz'd 'em: And now as he was eparing to remove to *Conſtantinople*, there to en- the Fruit of his Labours, he was ſeiz'd with a *He falls* tal Diſtemper at *Milan*, which put an end to his *ſick.* fe and all his future Deſigns. As ſoon as he perv'd himſelf to be in Danger he made his Will, in hich he made a Diviſion of the Empire, bequeathg the Eaſt to his eldeſt Son *Arcadius*, aged about hteen Years, and the Weſt to *Honorius*, who was

then almoſt eleven; recommending the one to *Ru*
nus his Care and Direction, and the other to that
Stilicho, who was made General of the Army. H
had at the ſame time eas'd the People of ſeveral In
poſitions, and pardon'd many Criminals; and reſig
ing himſelf with a chearful Mind to the Will
and dies. God, he expir'd at *Milan* on the 17th of *Janua*
after a glorious Reign of ſixteen Years, and in t
fiftieth of his Age according to ſome, tho' othe
ſay he liv'd ſixty, *An Ur.* 1147, the third of t
293d Olympiad, in the Conſulſhip of *Olybr*
and *Probinus*, *An. Dom.* 395.

His Character. The Reader will eaſily conclude *Theodoſius* d
univerſally lamented, when he conſiders that
ſeem'd ſent as a publick Bleſſing into the Worl
and that he was call'd to the Empire when the N
ceſſities of the State requir'd a Perſon of Experien
Courage, Conduct and Perſeverance. He ow
much to Fortune, but more to himſelf, and w
made Emperor more for the ſake of thoſe he was
govern than his own. His Virtues were as gr
whilſt he liv'd a private Life, but became afterwa
more conſpicuous, and as at firſt he diſcountenan
Vice by his Example, ſo he afterwards ſuppreſs'd
by his Authority; his Modeſty at firſt refus'd t
Power which the moſt deſerving of his Predeceſſ
had courted with Ambition, but he made it app
in the Iſſue that no Man knew how to be Great b
ter than himſelf. He was a Prince of exempl
Temperance; curious in the choice of his gr
Officers and Counſellers; juſt to his Friends,
generous even to his Enemies. In him we may
were collected all the rare Qualities that were
eminent in the firſt *Romans*, he had the Chaſtnes
the *Pontifices*, the Moderation of the *Conſuls*,
Grandure of the *Patricians*, and the Meekneſs
Humility of the *Clients*. The Wars he was enga

during his Reign were of other Mens kindling, t his own, and he only by his Courage and Con- ſt put a ſtop to what others by their Tyranny d Ambition had begun. How kind a Father he s to the Publick appears in his leſſening the rden of Taxes, and that at a time, according to *emiſtius*, when he had ſuch an Army on Foot as e *Roman* Empire hardly ever ſaw before. He s Juſt in his Dealings to all Men, but fond of oſe that were good, making the Greatneſs of his ind appear in his Liberality and Munificence to- rds 'em. He is ſaid both in Body and Mind to ve reſembled *Trajan*, only *Theodoſius* was more aceful and Majeſtick; beſides he was a Stranger *Trajan*'s Vices, ſuch as Drunkenneſs, Inconti- nce and Ambition. In this Character of *Theodo-* all the Heathen Authors of thoſe Times unani- ouſly agree, except *Zozimus*, who injuriouſly taxes n with Incontinency, Sloth and Voluptuouſneſs; o' at the ſame time the force of Truth is preva- t in him, when he confeſſes, that as by Nature s Prince was idle and unactive, giving himſelf to all manner of Debauchery, when the Affairs the State left him at leiſure for it; ſo when ever was call'd upon by any imminent Danger, which reaten'd the Publick Safety, he rouz'd himſelf from a Dream, ſhook off thoſe Vices of his Na- e, and went as readily to Work as if Labour d Difficulties had been familiar to him. Chri- an Authors have deſervedly commended him up- another Account, his Zeal for the Chriſtian eligion, in which he equall'd, if not excell'd y of his Glorious Predeceſſors; many Inſtances ey have given us of his great Care for, and Sub- ſſion to the Ordinances of the Church, and of Spiritual Obedience. *Sozomen* tells us, that

whilſt the Emperor continu'd in *Italy* after the De
feat of *Maximus* an Inſurrection happen'd at *The*
ſalonica, in which the Seditious kill'd *Botericus*, t
Emperor's Lieutenant in *Illyricum*, and ſeveral
the Magiſtrates; that *Theodoſius* being inform'd
it commanded a great number of the Mutineers to
put to Death, but at the Interceſſion of St. *Ambr*
he revok'd his Orders, and pardon'd them. Sor
time after ſeveral of the Great Men in his Cou
repreſented to him, *that the* Theſſalonians *had be*
encouraged to this Sedition by his too great Indu
gence ſhown to thoſe at Antioch, *and upon ma*
other Occaſions; *and that if he permitted 'em to*
unpuniſh'd, his Officers for the future would be
continual Danger of their Lives, and that he wo
be conſtantly alarmed with ſome new Commotio
The Emperor was ſenſibly affected with this R
monſtrance, and inſtantly diſmiſs'd ſome of
Troops to *Theſſalonica*, where in three Days ti
they cruelly maſſacred above ſeven thouſand Pe
ple, without regard either to Age, Sex or Con
tion, murdering the Innocent as well as Gui
At this time an Aſſembly of Biſhops was held
Milan, who all expreſs'd how much they abhor
ſo exceſſive a Severity in the Prince. Whereup
St. *Ambroſe* writ a Letter to *Theodoſius*, in whi
with a Confidence no ways injurious to the Reſp
he ow'd his Soveraign, he repreſented to him
Enormity of his Crime, and exhorted him to m
an Attonement by a ſincere Submiſſion and Rep
tance. The Emperor being arriv'd at *Milan*,
going to perform his Devotions in the great Chur
into which St. *Ambroſe* deny'd him Entrance,
he had expiated ſo publick a Crime by as Publ
a Penance. To this the Emperor readily ſubm
ted, and return'd to his Palace with Tears in

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Eyes, and a Heart full of Divine Contrition, and perform'd with a moſt Chriſtian Submiſſion all the Duties of an open Penance, as they were enjoin'd by the Canons of the Church, and the Cuſtoms of thoſe Times; and to make the Empire an honourable Amends for his Fault, he then publiſh'd, or at leaſt enforc'd the Obſervance of an Edict, by which all Criminals were to have a Reſpite of thirty Days allow'd 'em, between the pronouncing of the Sentence and the Execution, and thereby prevented both himſelf and his Succeſſors from falling into the like Error for the future. I have given the Reader this ſignal Example of a Divine Reſignation, and leave him to make what uſeful Obſervations he thinks fit upon it.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of Theodoſius *the Great to the Taking of* Rome *the firſt time by the* Goths.

Containing the Space of almoſt 16 Years.

I. THE World can never diſcern the Worth of a Prince ſufficiently 'till they have loſt him, of which the *Roman* Empire was too ſenſible after the Death of *Theodoſius*. The Subject of the remaining Part of this Hiſtory will be the Decay and Ruin of the greateſt State that ever gave Law to the reſt of the World, and the Reader muſt now behold the *Roman* Commonwealth ſtruggling in Death, oppreſs'd by her own Slaves, and over-power'd by thoſe ſhe at firſt arrogantly contemn'd.

Theodoſius, as we obſerv'd before, unhappily divided the Empire at his Death between his two Sons, who being too Young to govern of themſelves were committed to the Care and Direction of ſuch, who apply'd their Power more to the gratifying their own private Intereſt and Ambition, than to the Honour and Safety of the Empire. *Arcadius*, immediately after his Father's Death, repair'd to *Conſtantinople*, leſt the People ſhould affect any dangerous Change upon the News of ſo general a Calamity, where he iſſu'd out ſeveral Edicts for the Confirmation of ſuch Laws as had been publiſh'd by *Theodoſius* againſt the Hereticks and Heathens. In the mean time *Rufinus* and *Stilicho*, out of Envy to each others Greatneſs, grew ſuch implacable Enemies, that in Proſecution of their ſeveral pernicious Projects they confounded all things

The Ambition of Rufinus *and* Stilicho *prejudicial to the Empire.*

Divi-

Divine and Human, and ſeem'd to rend that Empire aſunder, which *Theodoſius* deſign'd only to have divided. By this means the Barbarians, who had been receiv'd into the Empire, were invited to make uſe of ſo favourable an Advantage, and began to think of ſetting up for themſelves, of becoming Conquerors inſtead of Subjects, of ſharing the Provinces amongſt them, and erecting Principalities of their own. *Arcadius* and *Honorius* were indeed honour'd with the Imperial Titles, but the Sovereign Power reſted ſolely in *Stilicho* and *Ruſinus*, the one Commanding at his Pleaſure in the Eaſt, and the other in the Weſt. They undertook to determine all Suits and Controverſies, which they did with a moſt Arbitrary Partiality, drawing the Wealth of whole Provinces into their own Coffers, and impoveriſhing Nations to enrich themſelves. The Princes all this while were ignorant of their Practices, approving whatſoever they did or propos'd, which carry'd with it the Strength and Validity of a Law. *Ruſinus* in a ſhort time render'd himſelf odious to the People through his Pride and Arrogance. From an obſcure Beginning he had been rais'd to the greateſt Employments in the State, ſo that he began to think himſelf removv'd but one Step from the Imperial Dignity, to which he had a great Deſire to attain, and the readieſt way he thought was to marry his Daughter to *Arcadius*; for being the Emperor's Father-in-Law he concluded he could do no leſs than aſſume him for his Collegue. The Overtures were made by ſome of his Inſtruments with great Secrecy to *Arcadius*, which however by degrees became the Diſcourſe of the People, and increas'd their Averſion to him; but none oppos'd his Deſigns ſo effectually as *Eutropius*, one of the Emperor's Eunuchs, and a Perſon in great Eſteem with him. *Promotus* left two

Eutropius *oppoſes* Ruſinus.

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Eutropius *oppoſes* Ruſinus.

two Sons behind him, who in *Theodoſius* his Life-time were brought up with his own Children, one of which had at preſent a Virgin in the Family of extraordinary Beauty; ſome ſay ſhe was *Gratian*'s Daughter, others that ſhe was the Daughter of *Bauto*, who had been Conſul with *Arcadius*; this Lady *Eutropius* upon all occaſions commended to the Emperor, extolling her in a high degree as the moſt perfect Workmanſhip of Nature, and ſo far prevail'd that he conſented to marry her. *Rufinus* was juſt return'd to *Conſtantinople* from *Antioch*, where he had given the World a new Inſtance of his Cruelty and Ingratitude. *Florentius*, who had been *Præfectus Prætorio* in *Julian*'s Reign, had a Son call'd *Lucian*; this Gentleman made his Court to *Rufinus*, preſenting him with Poſſeſſions of a very conſiderable Value, upon which account *Rufinus* recommended him to the Emperor, who made him *Comes* of the Eaſt, in which Office he behav'd himſelf with the greateſt Juſtice and Moderation, and was ſo far from being a Reſpecter of Perſons, that he rejected a Propoſal made to him by the Emperor's own Uncle *Eucherius*, in which he requir'd ſomething that was not fit for him to grant; whereupon *Eucherius* complain'd of him to the Emperor, who reproach'd *Rufinus* for impoſing ſo unworthy a Man upon him. *Rufinus*, inſtead of protecting one who had purchas'd his Friendſhip at ſo great a Price, communicating his Thoughts to a very few made haſte to *Antioch*, where he enter'd in the Night time, apprehended *Lucian*, and without any Accuſer commanded him to make his Defence; he order'd him to be beaten on the Neck with Leaden Balls 'till he expir'd under the Torment, and then put him into a cloſe Litter, endeavouring to perſuade the People that he was ſtill alive, and might expect ſome Favour at his Hands; but

Rufinus *his Cruelty.*

but they being too ſenſible of the Truth highly reſented ſo barbarous a Proceeding: *Rufinus*, to appeaſe 'em, built 'em a moſt magnificent *Portico*, and ſo gave the City at once an Inſtance of his Cruelty and Prodigality; and from thence he return'd to *Conſtantinople*, pleaſing himſelf with the Thoughts of his future Affinity with the Emperor, and the Eſtabliſhment of his own unlimited Power, but he had not been long there, before he found the Emperor by *Eutropius* his means marry'd to *Eudoxia*, and himſelf diſappointed of his airy Imaginations. This he was reſolv'd to revenge upon *Eutropius*, and from hence forward he labour'd to poſſeſs himſelf of that Power by Treaſon, which he could not purchaſe by his Intrigues, to which he was the more incited by *Stilicho*'s ſucceſsful Attempts in the Weſt, for he had not only marry'd his Daughter to *Honorius*, but had the Command of the Flower of the *Roman* Army diſpos'd in Garriſon up and down the beſt Cities, which by that means were all at his Devotion; for being Captain-General of the Army at *Theodoſius* his Death, he reſerv'd the beſt of the Troops to himſelf, and diſmiſs'd thoſe of leſs Eſtimation into the Eaſt. *Rufinus* was inform'd that *Stilicho* had the Preference in *Theodoſius* his Will, that he was left Governor to both his Sons alike, and was coming into the Eaſt to make uſe of his Authority accordingly. This Journey *Rufinus* endeavour'd by all means poſſible to prevent, endeavouring at the ſame time to weaken, as much as he could, the Forces of *Arcadius*; in theſe Deſigns he was aſſiſted, by Inſtruments more wicked than he could have expected or deſir'd. *Rufinus* thought it would be much to his Advantage if he could let the Barbarians into *Greece*, and therefore made *Antiochus* Governor of it, a Man baſely degenerating from the Virtue and Integrity both of his

Arcadius *marry'd to* Eudoxia.

Rufinus *his treacherous Practices.*

his Father and his Brethren; at the ſame time he deliver'd the *Straits* of *Thermopylæ* into the Cuſtody of *Gerontius*, who he was ſure would ſecond him in any villanous Attempts upon the Commonwealth. *Alarich* had all this while the Command of the Barbarians, employ'd by *Theodoſius* againſt the Uſurper *Eugenius*. *Ruſinus* obſerv'd him to be of an Unquiet, Seditious Temper, Haughty and Impetuous, and at preſent diſſatisfy'd, for that he had been rewarded with no better Preferment. He therefore ſends privately to him, and adviſes him to be his own Carver; he encourages him to draw together thoſe of his own Country, and all ſuch of any other Nation as would follow his Fortunes, and march boldly at the Head of 'em, aſſuring him he ſhould meet with no Oppoſition.

His Dealings with Alarich *the* Goth,

In Confidence of this Promiſe *Alarich* quits *Thrace*, and marches into *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*, deſtroying all the Country as he march'd, and coming near to *Thermopylæ*, by Meſſengers he inform'd *Gerontius* and *Antiochus* of his Approach. *Gerontius*, according to his Inſtructions, immediately withdrew his Guards from the *Straits*, and ſo open'd a free Paſſage for the Barbarians into *Greece*, where they rag'd with unexampled Fury, killing all the Males that were able to oppoſe 'em, and driving away the Boys and Women in great Numbers, together with the Wealth of the Country, which fell all into their Hands. All *Bœotia*, and thoſe other Parts of *Greece* that felt their Fury, wore the Marks of it for a long time after. They pierc'd into *Argos*, *Corinth* and *Lacedemon*, rifling the Temples and pillaging all the wealthy Cities, which were unfortify'd through the Avarice of the *Roman* Magiſtrates, who were ready to ſerve the Luſt and Ambition of thoſe who were in Power, tho' at the Expence of their own Country. Theſe Proceedings

who marches into Greece.

of the Barbarians ſerv'd to feed the Ambition of *Rufinus*, who hop'd to ſucceed better in his Deſigns upon the Empire, whilſt it labour'd under ſuch Publick Calamities; but *Stilicho*, who as yet had more generous Thoughts, and was intent upon the Preſervation of the Common-wealth, having firſt repreſs'd the *Franks*, the *Suevi*, and the *Germans*, who were aiming at ſome Commotions in the Weſt, and thereby quieted all behind him, reſolv'd to march to the Succour of *Achaia*. Accordingly he ſet forward with the Weſtern Troops, and thoſe of the Eaſt that had been left in *Italy* ever ſince the Defeat of *Eugenius*, and landing ſafe in *Peloponneſus*, was in a fair way of ruining the Barbarians. The whole Army expreſs'd a great Forwardneſs for the Expedition, and earneſtly deſir'd to come to an Engagement with them, and revenge the Miſeries they had brought upon the Empire; which without doubt they had effected, had not *Rufinus*, who concluded that when once the Barbarians were repreſs'd the Storm would fall upon his own Head, prevail'd with *Arcadius* to ſend for the Oriental Troops for the Defence of *Conſtantinople*, and reſtrain the *Hunns*, who by the like Artifices had broken into the Empire. *Stilicho* was extreamly ſurpriz'd at this Order, which he thought depriv'd him of a certain Victory, and put the Empire into imminent Danger. The Chief Commanders in the Army were as much concern'd as their General, however they thought fit to march in Obedience to the Emperor's Orders, which they were ſenſible *Rufinus* had by his Artifices procur'd, on whom therefore they were reſolv'd to be reveng'd, as on an Enemy to the State; and ſo they ſet forward under the Conduct of *Gaines*, a great Friend of *Stilicho*'s, who had promis'd him to remove his Antagoniſt, and promote his Intereſt in the Eaſt. About this time

Stilicho marches towards the Eaſt.

Theodoſius

Theodoſius his Corps was brought from *Milan* to *Conſtantinople*, where he was bury'd with more Solemnity of Grief than Pomp of State, the Ceremony ſerving to remind the People of what they had loſt, and the defenceleſs Condition of the Empire. *Rufinus* had a great many brave Troops at his Devotion, commanded by Perſons of the firſt Quality, who had conſpir'd to proclaim him Emperor immediately upon the Arrival of that out of the Weſt. The Purple was prepar'd, and the Donative ready for the Soldiers, who ſuffer themſelves too often to be corrupted by Preſents. *Gaines* being come at the Head of his Army within a few Hours March to *Conſtantinople*, gave *Arcadius* notice of his Approach, and that purſuant to his Orders he was come to his Relief; of this the Emperor was highly ſatisfy'd, and was pleas'd to go out of the City and meet the Soldiers in Perſon, being inform'd 'twas an Honour his Predeceſſors uſually paid to the Army. The Soldiers receiv'd him with the Reſpect due to his Dignity, but upon a Signal given by *Gaines* they ſurrounded *Rufinus*, whoſe Thoughts were puffed up with imaginary Empire, and cut him in pieces; his Head was fix'd upon the top of a Lance, and expos'd to the View of the People, who abominated him for his exceſſive Cruelty and Extortion, and therefore beheld it with much Satisfaction: They were well pleas'd at the Invention of a certain Soldier, who took his right Hand, and by a witty Contrivance opening and cloſing his Fingers at pleaſure, went up and down the City begging an Alms for that inſatiable Creature. Thus fell *Rufinus*, who well deſerv'd the Uſage he receiv'd, having by his Ambition involv'd the Publick in great Difficulties, and procur'd the Ruin of many private Families. The *Hunns* and the *Goths*, who had been led into the Empire by his Means, could never afterwards

Rufinus *ſlain.*

erwards be expell'd, but took ſo deep a Root, and grew up by Degrees to ſuch a Strength and Reſolution, that at firſt they ſhook off the Yoke of the *Romans*, and at laſt brought 'em into Subjection, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Upon *Rufinus* his Death, *Eutropius*, who had concurr'd with *Stilicho* in all his Devices againſt him, was made chief Miniſter in his Room; ſecuring the greateſt Part of his Eſtate to his own uſe, but giving others Liberty to reaſſume what had been unjuſtly taken from 'em. His Wife and Children, fearing they ſhould fall a Sacrifice to the Fury of the People, took Sanctuary in a Church, from whence by the Emperor's Permiſſion they retir'd to *Jeruſalem*, where they ſpent the reſt of their Days.

Eutropius being thus confirm'd in his Maſter's Favour, ſucceeded *Rufinus* not only in his Power and his Employments, but what is worſe in his Cruelty, his Avarice, and his other villanous Qualities, ſo that *Rufinus* ſeem'd ſtill to ſurvive in this wicked Eunuch. He was a declar'd Enemy to Virtue and virtuous Men; nor had he any farther Regard to Religion than as he could make it ſubſervient to his Intereſt. He abus'd with much Inſolence his Maſter's Power, who being young, and addicted to his Pleaſures, reſign'd the Government of his Affairs into his Hands. And the better to confirm himſelf in his Authority, he endeavour'd to remove all thoſe out of the way, who ſeem'd to bear any Sway in the Court. For this end he began his Practices upon *Timaſius*, a Man who had been a long time a principal Commander in the Army, and had in many Wars ſerv'd the Government with much Honour, Courage and Integrity. Being ſome time before this at *Sardis* he accidentally met with one *Bargus*, a Native of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, a mean inconſiderable Perſon, and who for ſome notorious Crime

Eutropius *as bad as* Rufinus.

Crime had been forc'd to fly his Country; *Timaſius* perceiving him of a facetious inſinuating Converſation, without ever enquiring farther into his Character, admitted him to his Familiarity, preferr'd him to the Command of a Cohort, and took him with him to *Conſtantinople*; at which ſome of the Magiſtrates were highly diſpleas'd, becauſe he had been formerly baniſh'd that City for ſome Offence committed by him. This Man *Eutropius* thought fit Inſtrument for his Villany, and with many Gifts and more Promiſes perſuaded him to accuſe *Timaſius* of High-Treaſon. Hereupon the Villain counterfeits a Writing, in the Contents of which *Timaſius* is charg'd with affecting the Imperial Dignity, and is therefore brought without delay to his Trial where the Emperor himſelf preſided firſt as Judge but finding the People diſlik'd the Proceeding, and were aſham'd to ſee a Perſon of *Timaſius* his Dignity forc'd to anſwer the mercenary Accuſations of an inſignificant and ſcandalous a Raſcal, he quitted the Employment, and ſubſtitutes *Saturninus* and *Procopius* in his room. *Saturninus* was an ancient Man and had gone through many great Offices, but was given to Flattery, and in the Court of Judicature to paſs ſuch Sentences, as were likely to pleaſe thoſe who were in greateſt Favour with the Prince. *Procopius* had been *Valens* his Father-in-Law, and was rigid and inflexible, pretending to have a great Regard to Right and Equity; as indeed he appear'd in this Caſe, for he endeavour'd to convince *Saturninus* how unreaſonable a thing it was, that a Man ſo notorious as *Bargus* ſhould be ſuffer'd to accuſe ſo great a Perſon as *Timaſius*, and after he had been oblig'd in ſo extraordinary a manner, endeavour to betray and deſtroy his Benefactor. However *Saturninus* his Sentence prevail'd in the End, notwithſtanding this reaſonable Remonſtrance; and *Timaſius*

was confin'd to *Oaſis*, a barren uncomfortable Place, out of which there could be no Eſcape for thoſe who were once brought thither; for it was ſurrounded with a large deſolate Deſart full of Sand, which moving to and fro with the Wind ſuffer'd no Tract or Footſhep of any former Travellers to be ſeen: *Timaſius* being thus remov'd, a Report was ſpread abroad that his Son *Syagrius*, aſſiſted by a Company of Robbers, had intercepted him and forc'd him from the Guards, who were ſent by the Emperor to conduct him to his Place of Exile. Whether this Report was true, or rais'd by ſome of *Eutropius*'s Creatures, is uncertain, tho' neither the Father nor Son were heard of ever after.

Bargus receiv'd the Command of a Cohort, as a Reward for his extraordinary Service to *Eutropius*, and was deceiv'd with the Hopes and Promiſes of greater things, not thinking that his Treachery to his great Benefactor *Timaſius*, would teach *Eutropius* to be upon his Guard, and deal with him accordingly; this his ſenſeleſs Security drew upon him the Judgment he deſerv'd, for *Eutropius* taking an opportunity of his Abſence, perſuaded his Wife, who was then at variance with her Husband, to preſent the Emperor with ſome Papers of dangerous Conſequence, and among the reſt many heavy Accuſations againſt *Bargus*; whereupon *Eutropius* brought him inſtantly to his Trial, where he was convicted, ſentenced and executed accordingly. So certain is the hand of Juſtice to puniſh, firſt or laſt, thoſe who are guided by no Rule, nor obſerve any Law that interferes with their private Intereſt, how unreaſonably ſoever grounded or purſued. A. D. 396.

Bargus *put to death by* Eutropius *his Procurement.*

And now *Eutropius*, intoxicated with Power, and arrogant through his Succeſs, employs his Spies in all Quarters and in every Corner, by whoſe Informations he made his own Advantage, oppreſſing

thoſe who were conſiderable for their Authority, o conſpicuous for their Eſtates, and excluding ſuc from the Preſence of the Emperor, who had th Courage to tell him how much he was abus'd. A mong theſe was *Abundantius*, a Man conſiderable i the Common-wealth in *Gratian*'s time, and who ha been Prætor and Conſul under *Theodoſius*. His Vir tue, Experience, and Authority, were Qualificat ons no way agreeable to *Eutropius*, ſo that he pre vail'd, through his crafty Inſinuations with the Em peror, to have him ſtripp'd of his Honours and E ſtate, and confin'd to *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*, where h dy'd. After this he found none in *Conſtantinople* ble to diſpute or rival his Power, and ſo was more leiſure to turn his Eyes towards the Weſt, where h obſerv'd *Stilicho* governing with an unlimited Au thority, belov'd by the Emperor, careſs'd by the So diers, and inclinable to come to *Conſtantinople*, whic it conſiſted with his Intereſt to prevent, and there fore he perſuaded *Arcadius* to ſummon the Senat in which *Stilicho* is declar'd a publick Enemy to th Empire. After which he ſo far practis'd upon *Gi do*, who was Governor in *Africk*, that he renounc his Obedience to *Honorius*, owning *Arcadius* for h Sovereign, or rather ſetting up for himſelf; reſtrai ing that Supply of Corn with which *Rome* us'd t be furniſh'd, and thereby creating a great Scarci in that populous City. This *Gildo*, as we obſerv before, was one of the Sons of *Nubel*, who whil he liv'd was a potent Prince in *Mauritania*. In th time of his Brother *Firmus* his Rebellion *Gildo* ſtuc faſt to the *Romans*, for whom he appear'd ſo zealou that *Theodoſius*, as a Recompence for his Service conferr'd many Honours upon him, and made hi his Lieutenant in *Africk*. For ſome time he b hav'd himſelf with much Reſpect and Obedience t the Empire, but finding it embroil'd upon *Eugeni*

Who gets Abundantius *to be baniſh'd,*

and practiſes againſt Stilicho.

Gildo *revolts in* Africk;

h

his Uſurpation, he declin'd joining the Forces under his Command with *Theodoſius*, and began then to entertain thoughts of a Revolt; but after his Death, preſuming upon the Incapacity of his Sons, he ſtruck in with *Eutropius*, and made himſelf abſolute Maſter of *Africk*. *Gildo* had then a Brother, call'd *Mazeſcel* or *Mazezil*, who oppos'd him with ſo much Activity, that he was violently enrag'd againſt him, and had a Deſign upon his Life; upon which *Mazezil* fled into *Italy*, where he gave the Emperor and *Stilicho* a juſt Account of the Province, inform'd 'em of the readieſt way to ſuppreſs the Uſurper, and offer'd to undertake the Service himſelf, provided they would place him at the Head of a ſufficient Army. The Emperor had great reaſon to diſtruſt this Barbarian's Sincerity, but the City was reduc'd to ſuch a Scarcity of Proviſions through the Rebellion in *Africk*, that he was glad to embrace any Offer that was propos'd to extinguiſh it. Whereupon the War was declar'd againſt *Gildo* in the Senate, and committed to the Management of *Mazezil*. Of this when *Gildo* was inform'd, he in great Rage murder'd two of his Brother's Sons, whom he had left behind in *Africk*; which ſerv'd only to inflame his Brother with more Animoſity againſt him, and to proſecute the War with great Application, ſince to his Rebellion he had added the unnatural Sin of Paricide.

A. D. 397.

againſt whom his Brother is ſent.

In the mean time the People of *Rome*, tho' they were afflicted with a Famine at home, and threaten'd with great and almoſt unavoidable Dangers from abroad, in a ſenſeleſs Security gave themſelves up to all manner of Luxury and Prodigality. The *Goths*, and other Barbarous Nations, were by degrees grown ſo familiar to 'em, many of whom they had entertain'd within their own Walls, that they became fond of their Faſhions, and began to imitate 'em in

their Dreſſes, thinking their own dull and unpoliſhed: This was looked upon as a fatal Prelude to what followed not long after; for 'tis almoſt a certain ſign that that Nation will in time be ſubjected to thoſe, of whoſe Fancies they are fond; and that they to whoſe Imaginations they ſubmit their Reaſon, will in time become Maſters both of their Perſons and Eſtates. This Extravagance was attended by another altogether as unreaſonable; they were infatuated with a Madneſs of Building, and that at a time when the City was already grown too great for the Inhabitants, and the Inhabitants too many for the Proviſions that were brought to it. Both theſe Extravagances *Honorius* endeavour'd to reſtrain by two ſeveral Edicts, but to little purpoſe, for they ſtill perſiſted in their Imitation of the Barbarians, and the humour of Building continu'd ſo long, 'till the City her ſelf ſlid down from her ſeven Hills, and repos'd her ſelf, as for eaſe, in the *Campus Martius*.

This Year was remarkable for a Council held at *Carthage*, wherein were framed ſeveral Remarkable Canons, by which we may judge of the pious and ſelf-denying Temper of the Prelates that celebrated it. In the ſame Year dy'd St. *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of *Milan*, who is accus'd of ſome Doctrinal Errors; whereby we are to know that the beſt of Men are not infallible; for he maintain'd, as well as St. *Hilary*, that *all Men indifferently are to undergo a fiery Trial at the laſt Day*; that *even the Juſt are to paſs through it, and be thereby cleanſed from their Sins*; *but the Unjuſt are to continue in it for ever.* He likewiſe taught, that *the Faithful ſhould be rais'd gradually at the laſt Day, according to the Degree of their particular Merits*: That *the Bow God promis'd* Noah *he would place in the Firmament after the Deluge, as a Token that he never intended to drown the World again*, was

The Death of St. Ambroſe.

was not to be underſtood of the Rain-bow, which can never appear in the Night, but ſome viſible Virtue of the Almighty; and ſeveral other Tenets, wherein he differ'd from the reſt of the Orthodox Fathers, and which afterwards gave occaſion to many Speculations.

The Year following *Honorius* was Conſul the fourth time with *Eutychianus*: And *Stilicho* and *Eutropius*, who had hitherto appear'd publickly to be in good Terms with each other, now broke out into open Enmity, agreeing ſtill however in pillaging and oppreſſing the Publick. All Employments were at their Diſpoſal, the Power of Pardon and Puniſhment reſted ſolely in them, ſo that all Men became their Courtiers and Dependants. At this no Man was more offended than *Gaines*, who thought his Services little regarded, his Perſon neglected, and none preferr'd but thoſe who were able to pay the higheſt Price for it. Theſe Conſiderations made him turn Male-content, ſo that he began to think of raiſing new Commotions, and communicated his Thoughts to one *Tribigild*, a bold couragious Soldier, fit for any deſperate Undertaking. *Tribigild* had the Command of ſome Troops of Horſe of the Barbarians that lay Quarter'd in *Phrygia*, and having concerted his Matters with *Gaines*, he left *Conſtantinople* under a Pretence of muſtering his Troops, and viewing the Condition they were in; but as ſoon as he had plac'd himſelf at the Head of 'em he laid all the Country waſte before him, killing Men, Women and Children, and upon a Promiſe of free Booty got ſuch a Company of pilfering Vagabonds together, that all *Aſia* ſeem'd to be threaten'd with Deſtruction. *Lydia* was in an Uproar, from whence the Inhabitants drew down towards the Sea, and paſs'd over into other Parts to avoid the Tempeſt they ſaw ready to break upon 'em. *Arcadius*

A. D. 398.

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A. D. 398.

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Tribigild *Rebels.*

cadius being inform'd of all this had no Senſe of the Publick Calamities, nor Diſcretion enough to remove 'em, but like a helpleſs unactive Prince reſign'd all to the Management of *Eutropius*, who made Choice of *Gaines* and *Leo* for the Generals of the War, by whoſe Conduct and Fidelity he made no doubt but *Tribigild* would quickly be reduc'd. *Leo* had Orders to march into *Aſia*, and diſperſe the Barbarians that were met in a confus'd manner together; and *Gaines* was to have an Eye upon *Thrace* and the *Straits* of the *Helleſpont*, to prevent any Irruptions on that ſide. Thus was the Emperor ſhamefully abus'd, and the Empire cruelly afflicted by open and avowed Enemies that were ſworn to her Deſtruction, and by treacherous, unskilful Generals, who undertook the Care of her Defence; for *Leo* had no other Qualification that could warrant his high Pretence to ſo high an Employment but his Intimacy with *Eutropius*; and *Gaines*, by Birth and Inclination was an avow'd Enemy to the *Roman* State. However they both marched from *Conſtantinople* according to their Inſtructions, and *Gaines*, purſuant to the Agreement between 'em ſent and adviſed *Tribigild* to draw with his Force down towards the *Helleſpont*. Had this Deſign been as warily executed, as it was cunningly ſuggeſted all *Aſia* and the Eaſt muſt unavoidably have been loſt, but Fortune had not yet totally abandon'd the *Roman* Common-wealth. He left *Conſtantinople* with a Heat and Impetuoſity natural to Barbarians and ſent not his Advice to *Tribigild* 'till he was arrived at *Heraclea*, and then *Tribigild* was afraid to obſerve his Orders, leſt he ſhould fall in with the Forces that were by that time ſent to Guard the Coaſt; ſo that having waſted all *Phrygia*, he fell with the ſame Barbarity upon *Piſidia*. The Inhabitants ſent to *Gaines* for Relief, which he, with much

much Artifice, prolong'd ſending, whilſt *Leo* hover'd about the *Helleſpont* without daring to encounter the Enemy, who ravag'd the Country at Diſcretion, roving up and down without meeting the leaſt Oppoſition, being daily reinforced by ſome or other of his Countrymen, who inſtead of defending their friendly Neighbours, the *Romans*, join'd with their Enemies, and drew their Swords againſt 'em.

Gaines pretended all this while to be highly exaſperated againſt him, but at the ſame time magnify'd his Stratagems and Sagacious Conduct, affirming he effected more by that than the Force of his Arms. He paſs'd over into *Aſia* with a Pretence to oppoſe and chaſtiſe him, but was ſo far from doing any thing that tended that way, that he ſate down as a Spectator, whilſt *Tribigild* laid all the Country waſte, and burnt the Cities about him. *Gaines* expected he would have march'd out of *Phrygia*, and have mov'd towards the Eaſt, to which he privately advis'd him, and aſſiſted him underhand with ſome Forces for the Expedition. Indeed had *Tribigild* directed his Courſe into *Lydia* he had eaſily maſter'd *Ionia*, and from thence he might have paſs'd over into the Iſlands with as conſiderable a Fleet as he pleas'd, and ſo have over-run all the Eaſt, and have march'd up as far as *Egypt* without any Oppoſition. But directing his Courſe towards *Pamphylia*, he fell into a craggy mountainous Country, where there was no Poſſibility for his Horſe to march. There indeed he found no Army to oppoſe him, but met with one *Valentine*, a Citizen of *Selga*, a ſmall Town in *Pamphylia*, ſituate upon a Hill, who had rais'd a Body of Slaves and Countrymen, that by their frequent Diſputes with the Robbers of thoſe Parts had learn'd how to make ſudden Onſets, and frame advantageous Ambuſhes. Theſe Men *Valentine* plac'd upon ſuch Hills as

were near the Paſſage, and ſo diſpos'd 'em with the beſt Skill he had, that they with eaſe and unobſerv'd could behold all that came that way. As ſoon as they ſaw *Tribigild* was enter'd the *Straits*, with huge Stones tumbled down from the Mountain they kill'd great Numbers of his Men; and now he began to find his Error too late, and that he had no room left him to eſcape; for on one hand was a deep Lake and rotten Bogs, on the other a narrow Aſcent in which two Men could ſcarce move a-breaſt, call'd *Cochlea* by the Inhabitants, from the Orbicular Shape of it; this Paſs was guarded by one *Florentius*, who had Men enough to make good againſt the Barbarians; however *Tribigild*, by the Force of his Preſents, got leave to paſs with three hundred of his Men, the reſt of his Army being loſt either in the *Straits*, or the adjoining Lake. From hence he deſcended into the Plain, where he was reduc'd to greater Extremities than ever; for the Inhabitants of the Country got together, and with ſuch Weapons as they found ſhut him and his Followers up between the two Rivers, *Melas* and *Eurymedon*; from hence, in great perplexity he ſent to acquaint *Gaines* with the Condition of his Affairs, who was as much troubled at it as himſelf; but having not yet openly declar'd himſelf, he ſent *Leo*, who lay near him, with Orders to aſſiſt the *Pamphilians* in Conjunction with *Valentine*, and hinder *Tribigild* from paſſing the Rivers. *Leo*, who was more a Fool than a Knave, punctually follow'd his Inſtructions, and by that means made *Tribigild*'s Eſcape utterly impoſſible; whereupon *Gaines* ſent time after time ſuch Cohorts of Barbarians as he had in his Camp to *Leo*'s Aſſiſtance, as he pretended, and to reinforce his Army; but his Orders to them were, to kill ſuch of the *Romans* they found ſtraggling from the Camp, to lay wa-

His Army cut off.

Gaines his Treachery.

he Country, and by degrees deſtroy *Leo* and his army, which the Barbarians executed accordingly. By this means the Country was entirely ruin'd, and *Tribigild* had leiſure to withdraw out of *Pamphylia*, and return into *Phrygia*, where he made good *Gaines* his Deſign and Expectation, for he rag'd with greater fury than ever.

The Emperor, being thus abus'd on every ſide, was in great Perplexity. *Gaines*, inſtead of reducing *Tribigild*, magnify'd his Exploits to the Emperor, threaten'd him and the Senate with his intended March towards the *Helleſpont*, which would endanger the preſent Poſture of Affairs, unleſs the Prince thought fit to incline to his Propoſals; thoſe Propoſals had before-hand been concerted between him and *Tribigild*, and were ſuch as, when granted, would enable him the better to proſecute his own Ambitious Deſigns. He was an inveterate Enemy to *Eutropius*, who being deſign'd Conſul this Year in the Eaſt, and honour'd with the Title of Patrician, he was more exaſperated at his Preferment, than offended for that he was not advanc'd himſelf, and therefore was reſolv'd to be ſatisfy'd with nothing leſs than his Death. Accordingly whilſt he lay in *Phrygia* he acquainted the Emperor, that he had neither Strength nor Authority enough to oppoſe *Tribigild* any longer, whoſe Conduct and Experience was ſuch that all *Aſia* would of neceſſity be loſt, unleſs he had his Demands granted him; the chief of which was, that *Eutropius*, the grand Author of all the late Calamities, might be deliver'd up into his Hands. Hereupon *Arcadius* immediately ſtripp'd *Eutropius* of his Power and Dignity, who in great Conſternation fled for Refuge to a Chriſtian Church. This was not enough to ſatisfie *Gaines*, who ſtill inſiſted, that *Tribigild* would be contented with nothing leſs than *Eutropius* his utter Ruin; ſo that he A. D. 399.

was

was firſt baniſh'd to the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and ſome time after brought to *Pantychium*, where, after a formal Trial, he was put to Death.

Eutropius *put to Death.*

Tho' *Eutropius* in a great meaſure ow'd his Fall to *Gaines* his inveterate Malice, yet his inſolent Carriage to the Empreſs had made *Arcadius* himſelf from an indulgent Maſter become an offended Prince. Looking on himſelf as the great Inſtrument of her Promotion, he thought he might make more bold with her than conſiſted with his Duty and her Imperial Dignity. Among other Extravagances he preſumptuouſly threaten'd her one Day, upon ſome ſmall Diſlike, to turn her out of the Palace, and ſend her home; the Empreſs, highly offended at ſuch unuſual Arrogance, went with Tears in her Eyes and her two little Daughters, *Pulcheria* and *Arcadia* in her Arms, and complain'd of the Eunuch to the Emperor; who immediately depriv'd him of his Wealth and Dignities, and baniſh'd him into *Cyprus*, or more eaſily liſten'd to *Gaines*, and conſented to his Ruin. Whatever the main Reaſons of his Fall were, he met with a Fate common to thoſe inſolent Favourites, who being advanc'd by the Indulgence of the Prince, ſhamefully abuſe his Power and miſapply his Favours.

We took notice before of *Gildo*'s Revolt in *Africa*, and how his Brother was ſent by the Emperor and Senate of *Rome* againſt him, who put an end to the War much ſooner than was expected; for *Oroſius* tells us, that depending more upon the Divine Aſſiſtance, than the Strength of his own Arms, he invok'd the Name of Chriſt, who ſupported him in the Day of Battel, and gave him a miraculous Victory; for he had not above five thouſand Men tho' *Gildo* was above ſeventy thouſand ſtrong. *Zoſimus* ſaith *Mazezil* fell upon his Brother unawares and after a ſharp Diſpute defeated him; that pre-

Gildo *overthrown.*

ſent

ently after *Gildo* choſe rather to Strangle himſelf, han fall into his Enemy's Hands. *Mazezil* having y this Victory reduc'd *Africk* to *Honorius* his Obedience, return'd into *Italy*, where he was re-eiv'd very favourably by the Emperor, and out-ardly careſs'd by *Stilicho*, in Conſideration of his ate Services, who however inwardly envy'd him or his great Deſerts, and procur'd him to be rown'd not long after. The Death of *Gildo* de-iver'd *Africk* from great Oppreſſions, which the War would of neceſſity have brought upon it, had e liv'd to have receiv'd the Aſſiſtance he had been romis'd by *Eutropius*, who was not yet in Diſ-grace; but the Diſagreement between the two rothers ſeem'd an Act of Providence, and prov'd ery advantageous to *Honorius* his Affairs, reveng-ng upon the Uſurper the Diſſentions he endea-our'd to create between the two Emperors. With *frica*, all *Gildo*'s Paternal Dominions fell to *Ho-orius* his ſhare, and was ſo large, that as a diſtinct rovince it was govern'd by its proper Officer, all'd *Comes Gildoniaci Patrimonii.*

After this the Weſtern Empire ſeem'd to enjoy ome Repoſe, and the Year following, whither the Courſe of the Wars in the Eaſt have already con-ucted us, is diſtinguiſh'd with the Name of no more han one Conſul, which was *Flavius Mallius Theodo-us*, a Perſon Eminent in thoſe Days for his Learning, Eloquence and good Manners, as well as his Qua-ity and Fortune; 'tis true we obſerv'd before that *Eutropius* was deſign'd for his Collegue, but fell Sacrifice either to the Emperor's Indignation, or he Malice of *Gaines*, before he was veſted with he Honour. *Gaines* was ſo far from being ſatisfy'd ith his Death, that he ſtill aim'd at greater and ore dangerous Innovations. Having concluded pretended Peace with *Tribigild* in the Emperor's Name,

Name, he return'd through *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, le
ving *Tribigild* to follow cloſe after him, who join
him again at *Thyatira*. Here they both agreed
return and ſack *Sardis*, the Metropolis of *Lydia*, b
were prevented by the great Rains which had late
fallen, and ſwoln the Rivers over which they we
to paſs. Hereupon they ſeparated once more, *Gain*
marching through *Bythinia*, and *Tribigild* towa
the *Helleſpont*, allowing their Men to ſeize a
plunder whatever came in their way, which th
did with great Licentiouſneſs; and being advanc'
the one as far as *Chalcedon*, the other into the Te
ritories of *Lampſacus*, they not only put *Conſtan*
nople into a great Conſternation, but the whole *R*
man Empire ſeem'd to be in apparent Danger; f

Gaines *his Inſolence.*

Gaines was now become ſo inſolent, that he deman
ed a Meeting with the Emperor in Perſon, refuſi
to treat with any one elſe. *Arcadius* was forc'd
condeſcend, and ſo it was agreed between 'em, a
Place near *Chalcedon*, ſacred to the Memory of *E*
phemia the Martyr, that *Gaines* and *Tribigild* ſhou
paſs out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, and that ſuch emine
Men in the State as they demanded ſhould be de
ver'd up into their Hands: Theſe were *Aureli*

A. D. 400.

who was *Stilicho*'s Collegue in this Year's Conſula
Saturninus, a Man of Conſular Dignity, whom
had occaſion to make mention of before, and *Jo*
Secretary to the Emperor: *Arcadius* found himſ
oblig'd to comply with this Tyrannical Deman
and having deliver'd 'em up to *Gaines* he ſent 'em
into Exile. Upon the Concluſion of this Trea
he paſs'd over into *Europe*, follow'd by *Tribigi*
leaving *Aſia* to breath a little, and recover her ſ
from her late Calamities.

After this he continu'd for ſome time at *Conſtan*
nople, from whence he remov'd the Soldiers that h
formerly lain in Garriſon in the City, that he mig
t

e better effect the Deſigns he had upon it. He
ſt demanded a Church for himſelf and Followers,
ing all obſtinate *Arians* in Opinion, in which they
ight have a free Exerciſe of their Religion. The
or Emperor, being afraid to give him an abſolute
enial, referr'd him to St. *Chryſoſtome*, who being
ſhop of the City had the Diſpoſal of all Conſe-
ated Places. St. *Chryſoſtome* oppos'd him with much
ourage, told him *'twas not in the Emperor's Power
alienate any thing that was Sacred; that the
urches were daily open in the City, where he might
and pay his Devotions, and hear the Word of God:*
o this *Gaines* anſwer'd, *That being of another
rſuaſion he could not join with them in their
eligious Worſhip; and that the Services he had
der'd the Empire very well deſerv'd a Church to
appropriated to him and thoſe of his Faith.* St.
ryſoſtome reply'd boldly, *That his Rewards alrea-
exceeded his Merits, for he had the Honour of be-
g a General, and enjoy'd the Conſular Dignity;
at from a low and abject Condition he had been
vanc'd to the higheſt Employments in the Go-
rnment; that he ought to be contented with what
already enjoy'd, without demanding what was
t in the Emperor's Power to grant:* Whereupon
ſhew'd him an Edict publiſh'd by *Theodoſius*,
ohibiting all Schiſmaticks whatever to hold any
eetings in the City, and reminded him of the
ath he had made to that Emperor, *by whom he
s ſo ſignally oblig'd, of being true to the* Roman
tereſt, *obedient to the Laws, and loyal to him
d his Children; adviſing him to have a Regard to
at Oath, in the Breach of which he would ſo
ghly provoke the Divine Vengeance againſt him.*
his Diſcourſe, ſo ſeaſonably enforc'd by the Bi-
op, made him quit his Demand for the preſent;
o' he went away very much diſſatisfy'd, and full
of

of turbulent ambitious Deſigns. About this tim
there appear'd a Comet of unuſual Magnitude, tha
ſeem'd to ſweep the Earth with its Tail, and t
hang directly over the City; portending ſome gre
Diſaſter ready to fall not only upon the City, bu
His Deſigns upon Conſtantinople the Empire. His firſt Attempt was to ſeize th
Wealth of the Bankers, of which being diſappointe
he order'd ſome of his Barbarians to fire the Palac
which, ſay the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, was pr
ſerv'd by a Miracle. After this he pretended hi
ſelf poſſeſs'd by a Spirit, and ſeiz'd on the Churc
of St. *John Baptiſt*, ſeven Miles from the Cit
there to perform his Devotions; having order'd ſom
of his Party to follow him, and the reſt to ſtay be
hind, who at a convenient time, and upon a Sig
nal given, were to ſeize the City and deliver it u
to him, who would be ready at the Gates to aſſi
them. This Deſign had in all probability taken e
fect, had he not been too haſty, and unadviſed
anticipated his Time: For without any Signal give
he appear'd before the Walls at the Head of his Me
with which the Watch being alarm'd gave notice
the Inhabitants, who at firſt made ſuch Outcries
are uſual in Towns that are ſtorm'd, but uniti
themſelves by degrees they ſet upon the Barbaria
that were left behind, whom they diſpatch'd wi
fruſtrated. ſuch Weapons as came firſt to hand; and ſo gall
Gaines, whom the Emperor in the very *Criſis* h
proclaim'd Traitor, that he was forc'd to retire fro
the Walls, after he had in vain attempted to bre
into the City. In the beginning of the Tumult
ven thouſand of the Barbarians fled for Refuge in
one of the Churches, as to a Sanctuary; but t
Emperor not thinking it reaſonable a Chriſti
Church. ſhould ſerve as an *Aſylum* to thoſe, w
were declar'd Enemies both to Church and Sta
gave Order to have 'em all deſtroy'd either by Fi

r Sword; whereupon they uncover'd the Roof hich lay over the Altar, and from thence ply'd em ſo furiouſly with Brands of Fire that not a Man f 'em eſcap'd.

This is the Subſtance of this Hiſtory, as we have both from *Zozimus* and other Writers, wherein hey vary in ſome Particulars that are not worth our bſervation. *Gaines*, after this Defeat, declar'd o-en War againſt the State, and falling into *Thrace* ound the Towns not only fenc'd with Walls, but ell defended by the Courage and Reſolution of e Inhabitants, who having learn'd Experience by rmer Incurſions, had now ſecur'd their Fruits, attle, and all other Proviſions within the Walls, d putting themſelves into a Poſture of Defence ew how to ſally out and diſtreſs the Beſiegers; ſo at *Gaines* finding nothing there but Graſs, reſolv'd leave *Thrace* and march into the *Cherſoneſus*, and turn through the *Straits* of the *Helleſpont* into *A-*. In the mean time the Emperor and Senate ade choice of one *Fraiutus* to manage the War ainſt him; he was by Birth a Barbarian, but in her Reſpects a *Greek*, not only in his Diſpoſition d Manners, but his Affections and Religion, be-g, as *Zozimus* tells us, a Pagan. He had behav'd mſelf with much Honour in ſeveral former Servi-s, having clear'd the Eaſt, from *Cilicia* as far as leſtine, from Robbers that had cruelly infeſted

Fraiutus readily undertook the Charge, reſtor'd e ancient Diſcipline of the Camp, inur'd his Sol-ers to Labour and Induſtry, being himſelf vigi-nt and indefatigable; and as he took great Care form and exerciſe his own Troops, ſo was he as di-gent to obſerve and diſcover the Condition of the emy, preparing to engage with him as well by a as by Land; for he had a good number of Pin-

naces,

naces, with which he intended to diſpute *Gaines* P
Paſſage over, if he ſhould attempt. He being no
in Diſtreſs for want of Forage reſolv'd to ſtay the
no longer, framing therefore a ſufficient Number
Planks, he ſo artfully compacted 'em togeth
that they were capable of tranſporting both Men a
Horſe, which he order'd to embark, and at a co
venient Seaſon put out to Sea. The *Roman* Gener
who had his Eye upon him all this while, put
with his Pinnaces a little from the Shore, and ſ
fering the Veſſels of the Barbarians to make do
with the Tide, he with his own Pinnace fac'd t
foremoſt, and falling foul of her with his Braz
Beak after a ſhort Grapple ſunk her; the reſt of th
Veſſels follow'd the ſame Fate, ſo that very few
the Barbarians eſcap'd alive. This Loſs exceedi
ly perplex'd *Gaines*, who doubtful what meaſures
take left the *Cherſoneſus* and paſs'd farther into *Thra*
where ſome ſay he fell into the Hands of the *Rom*
Forces quarter'd in thoſe Parts, as he waited in
Gaines *kill'd.* pectation of freſh Supplies, who put him and
Remainder of his Army to the Sword. Others
that after he had robb'd *Thrace* of what former I
predations had left behind, and maſſacred ſuch
mans as ſtill continu'd to follow him, he inten
to paſs the *Iſter*, and end his Days in his own Co
try, but was prevented by *Uldes*, or *Hudin*, at t
time Prince of the *Hunns*, who thought it imp
dent to permit him to paſs with an Army of his o
Nation, and ſettle on the other ſide the River;
conceiv'd he ſhould do an acceptable piece of S
vice to the *Roman* Emperor if he forc'd him fr
thence; whereupon drawing all his Forces togethe
prepar'd to give him Battel, which *Gaines*, who kn
it impoſſible for him now to return to the *Romans*,
forc'd to accept of, and after a ſharp Diſpute on b
ſides, in which he fought with a deſperate Reſ
ti

ion, he was ſlain, and his Head ſent by *Uldes* to *Arcadius*, who thereupon rewarded him with many Royal Preſents, and admitted him into a League and Society with the *Romans*.

II. The Eaſt ſeem'd to be deliver'd, by *Gaines* his Death, from the Calamities under which it had labour'd for a long time: But a new Storm was now gathering in the Weſt, which ſo violently aſſaulted it, that at length it tore up the Empire by the Roots, and robb'd *Rome*, which for many Ages had been the Queen of Cities, of her Hereditary and Imperial Honours. We were told before, how that *Alaric*, at *Rufinus* his Inſtigation, had invaded *Greece*, from whence, after he had committed unheard of cruelties up and down where-ever he paſs'd, he deſcended into *Epirus* and *Pannonia*, both which Countries, together with the adjacent Parts, he harras'd and depopulated. His Succeſs made him bold and his Army courageous, ſo that he began to bend his Thoughts towards *Italy* it ſelf, and had already deviſed in his Mind all the Wealth of that beautiful Garden of the Weſt; in whoſe fertile Plains, and ſpacious Towns he thought at laſt to ſettle. Theſe his Thoughts he communicated to his Men, who with a barbarous Applauſe approv'd of his Propoſal; he told 'em Italy *was at preſent weak and defenceleſs, unable to oppoſe any ſudden violent Attempt; he concluded it no difficult matter to take Rome her ſelf, and thereby ſeize upon the innumerable Wealth which the Care, Induſtry, Avarice or Ambition of ſo many Ages had with a profuſe Huſbandry drain'd from the whole World, and hoarded up in her.* The Army were ſo well pleas'd with his Deſign that from their General they made him their King, and prepared all things for their intended March; which he thought not fit to begin 'till the

A. D. 402.

Alarich *prepares to invade* Italy.

Summer was paſs'd, but choſe rather to enter *Ital*
in the Winter, the Rigour of which he and his *Goth*
had from their Infancy been inured to, and mu
therein have an Advantage of the *Italians*, who ha
not been us'd to the Hardſhips of War in that Sea
ſon. Having got a ſufficient Army together, con
ſiſting of *Alans*, *Goths*, *Hunns*, and other barbaro
Nations, he quitted the lower *Pannonia* and march
into the upper, conſiſting at preſent of *Auſtria*, *St*
ria, and *Carinthia*; from thence he paſs'd on to *N*
ricum, or *Bavaria*, the Paſſes of which he wi
great Eaſe maſter'd; from hence he drove out *A*
tius, who had the Command of the Imperial Arm
and took and pillag'd all the Towns that came in h
way. Hearing *Honorius* was in *Liguria*, he paſ
through the Foreſt of *Trent* with an intent to atta
him, ſeizing on all the little Towns that lay on t
Coaſt of the *Adriatick*, and directing his Cou
towards the *Adda*, he enter'd all the Cities of th
Quarter without any Oppoſition. Having made
Bridge for his Men to paſs over the River, he l
a ſufficient Number to ſecure it, and ſo directed
Courſe to *Liguria*, making what haſte he could
Haſta, or *Aſt*, where he was inform'd the Em
ror then lay.

Upon the News of it the Romans *are in great Conſternation.*

It is not to be expreſs'd with how much C
ſternation the *Romans* receiv'd the Intelligence of
intended Invaſion. All the Omens, or preten
Omens, that had been obſerv'd for a conſidera
Time paſt, were, by the ſuperſtitious Fears of
People, apply'd to the preſent Extremities: Not
ly the Voice of Thunder, but Chattering of Bi
frighted 'em: Hail-ſtones of an unuſual Bigneſs,
Bees attempting to ſwarm at an unſeaſonable ti
like ſo many Oracles denounc'd the Calamities t
already had in view. The frequent Eclipſes of
Moon, and the Appearance of a Comet of an extr
din

inary Size impos'd upon their Ignorance, and awa-
en'd their guilty Conſciences with the Senſe of Di-
ine Vengeance. But nothing affected 'em ſo much
the Sight of two Wolves, which as the Emperor
as riding abroad preſented themſelves to his View,
d had the Courage to ſet upon the Company. Be-
g receiv'd upon the Points of their Spears and
words they were eaſily diſpatch'd; but when their
ellies were open'd, in one was found the Right
and of a Man, to the great Amazement of the Behold-
, and in the other the Left. This Prodigy they con-
ded apparently threaten'd *Rome* her ſelf, the Foun-
r whereof, according to their Tradition, had been
uriſh'd by a She Wolf; ſo that they now began
caſt up the Age of the City, and to reckon her
d approaching. Their Fears made 'em ſuperſtiti-
s, and Event prov'd they were Prophets.

And as if theſe unuſual and ſiniſter Practices were
ſufficient for the publick Diſtractions, the Peo- *A Revolt*
inhabiting *Rhætia*, the preſent Country of the *in* Rhætia.
iſons, either at the Inſtigation of *Alarich*, or out
a Proſpect of mending their Condition, revolted
m the *Romans*, and ſo facilitated the Deſign of the
hs. To obviate all theſe apparent Miſchiefs *Sti-*
o took care to have all the Towns well fortify'd
d provided, eſpecially *Rome* it ſelf; notwithſtand-
which, *Alarich* was no ſooner enter'd *Italy* but
Inhabitants look'd upon it as already taken, and
e for removing with their Wealth, ſome into the
nds on the *Adriatick*, others into *Sicily*, and the
y Officers in the Emperor's Court were for fly-
into *Gaul* upon the Approach of the Barbari-
. Indeed this general Horror, which had ſeiz'd
the Minds of the People, was no more than a
ſonable Introduction to the Calamities that fol-
'd. *Italy*, that for many Ages had liv'd in a
tinu'd Serenity, in the full Enjoyments of Peace,

Plenty, and Proſperity, from this time forward be came the Stage of ſuch Calamities, and for ſever Years together afforded Examples of ſuch ſtrang and frequent Revolutions, as the World can hard parallel.

Stilicho was the only Man who ſtood unſhaken the Approach of this furious Tempeſt, ſilenci their Fears, and reviving their Hopes and Reſolu ons by his ſeaſonable Speeches and vigorous Prep rations. He told 'em *the* Goths *had taken the A vantage of their own Diſcord and Diſtractions, a had broken into* Italy *when their Forces were emplo in* Rhætia, *and that they would dare to ſtay no l ger than 'till the Troubles were compos'd on that ſi He reminded 'em how unſucceſsful the Attempts u* Italy *had ever prov'd to Foreign Armies, and promi 'em quickly to reduce their revolted Neighbours, a then chaſtiſe the Arrogance and Preſumption of A* rich. Accordingly he march'd with all Expediti into *Rhætia*, where the *Griſons*, being confounded his unexpected Approach, began to repent of th Folly, and liſten to an Accommodation. He, taki the Advantage of their Fear, reduc'd 'em by gen Means to their Duty, and incited 'em to employ th Arms in the Defence of the Empire and *Honor* This Affair being happily concluded, he appl himſelf with great Diligence to the raiſing an Ar for the Defence of *Italy*. To thoſe Troops t had ſerv'd in *Rhætia* he added ſuch as he could dr out of *Gaul*, *Britain*, and other Parts, and with new Army, amounting to about thirty five th ſand Men, he return'd back into *Liguria*, inſpir new Life into the States and Cities of *Italy*.

A. D. 403. Honorius *beſieg'd in* Haſta,

Honorius was at this time in the City of *Ha* whither *Alarich* was advanc'd in the Depth of W ter to beſiege him, there to force from him ſ unequal and diſhonourable Terms, as the viſible trem

ſmity of his Affairs encourag'd him to propoſe to
m. *Stilicho*, being inform'd of the Danger the
mperor was in, haſten'd with the utmoſt Dili-
nce to his Relief, which, with a true *Roman* *is reliev'd*
ourage, he effected; for paſſing over the *Adda* *by* Stilicho.
broke through the Enemy's Camp, and threw him-
f with a ſufficient Force into the Town. *Alarich*
s much diſhearten'd at this unexpected Bravery
the *Romans*, and began to be weary of his *Itali-*
Expedition, whereupon he ſummon'd a Council
War, in which it was reſolv'd to raiſe the Siege,
they did accordingly. *Stilicho*, placing himſelf
the Head of the Army, which by this time was
me up, march'd after the *Goths*, and overtook 'em
Pollentia, or *Polenza*, ſeven Miles diſtance from
ſta, where he engag'd and defeated him. One
l, a Pagan and Barbarian, had the chief Com-
nd of the *Alan* Horſe that ſerv'd in the Empe-
's Army: He, concluding the *Goths* out of re-
ct to their Religion, being Chriſtians, tho' of
Arian Sect, would not fight on *Eaſter-day*,
ack'd 'em upon that ſolemn Feſtival, promiſing
mſelf an abſolute Victory; but the *Goths* ſeeing
emſelves ſo hardly preſs'd upon took their
ms, and fought with greater Animoſity, ſo that
l was ſlain, and his Troops put to Flight, and
reby endanger'd the Miſcarriage of the whole
ing, had not *Stilicho* come ſeaſonably in with the
gions to their Aſſiſtance; he rally'd the Horſe,
ew up the whole Army, and ſo began the Fight
reſh, which was maintain'd on both Sides with
ch Reſolution. At length the Victory inclin'd Alarich *de-*
the *Romans*; for after an obſtinate Conteſt the *feated at*
rbarians gave Ground, and loſt as many in the Pollentia;
rſuit as they had done in the Fight. *Stilicho* re-
in'd Maſter of the Field of Battel, and the *Ro-*
ns pillag'd the Camp of the Enemy, where they

recover'd many Captives, and found an ineſtimab
Treaſure which the *Goths* had plunder'd in t
wealthy Cities of *Greece*, among which, if *Claudi*
may be credited, were the Purple Robes of t
Emperor *Valens*. *Stilicho* might have intercep
the *Goths* in their Flight, and have deſtroy'd *A*
rich, but he thought fit to let him eſcape over t
Po with the Remainder of his Troops, either
cauſe he conceiv'd it imprudent to preſs too h
upon Barbarians in Deſpair, or for that he intend
to make ſome uſe of them afterwards, or deſir'd
render himſelf by the War more conſiderable
the Empire; whatever the Reaſons were, by an
greement between them, they were immediately
quit *Italy*; in purſuance to which *Alarich* ret
with his ſhatter'd Troops as far as *Verona*, but th
in Breach of his Promiſe to *Stilicho*, he put hi
ſelf into a Condition of engaging a ſecond time w
the *Romans*, ſhould they think fit to hazard a
ther Battel; which *Stilicho*, provok'd at the P
fidiouſneſs of the Barbarian, was the more inclina
to do, both becauſe the Enemy was drawn fart
off from *Rome*, and the River *Po* was betwixt
and again at Verona. Here the *Romans* had once more the Advanta
and *Alarich* narrowly eſcaping fled with the R
nant of his Army to the Mountains, over which
attempted to paſs into *Rhætia* or *Gaul*, but was
pos'd by *Stilicho*, who kept him in ſo long
moſt of his Men forſook him and join'd with
Romans; and then, after he had undergone a m
titude of Inconveniences, he retir'd with a few
his Companions into *Dalmatia*. *Stilicho*, by all
pearance, might have prevented his Eſcape, but
is thought to have enter'd into a ſecret Confed
cy with him, thinking his Grandeur and Auth
ty with the Emperor could by no means be m
tain'd ſo well as by the continuance of the Wa

This Year, ſo remarkable for the Succeſs of the Romans againſt *Alarich*, had *Theodoſius*, the Son of Arcadius, and *Rumorodius* for Conſuls. *Theodoſius* was then but two Years of Age, and had the Year before been declar'd *Auguſtus* by his Father; the Eaſt all this while enjoy'd a perfect Peace, and *Arcadius* found himſelf at leiſure to eaſe ſeveral of his Subjects by ſome wholſome and ſeaſonable Laws, and reward ſuch as had been zealous in his Service. About the latter end of the Year *Honorius* remov'd from *Ravenna* towards *Rome*, as well to triumph for his Victories over the *Goths*, as to ſatisfie the Senate and People, who by their ſeveral Petitions had deſir'd the Honour of his Preſence. At *Rome* he enter'd into his ſixth Conſulſhip, chuſing *Arinethus* for his Collegue. The People were overjoy'd to ſee him, eſpecially upon ſuch an Occaſion, and expreſs'd their Satisfaction in coſtly Feaſts, magnificent Shows, and other publick Demonſtrations of their Joy. In the mean time *Stilicho* is ſaid to have made a Peace with *Alarich*, and that with the Emperor's Participation; the Conditions of it were, *That* Alarich *ſhould retire with all his Troops out of the Territories of* Honorius, *and break into the Eaſtern Part of* Illyricum, *which belong'd to* Arcadius; *that* Honorius *or* Stilicho *ſhould, in time convenient, ſend* Jovius, *Lieutenant for the Emperor in the Weſtern* Illyricum, *who in Conjunction with the* Goths *ſhould ſeize upon both Parts in Behalf of* Honorius; upon which *Alarich* went and poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Epirus*, a Branch of the Eaſtern Empire, where he waited in Expectation of *Stilicho*'s Promiſes.

THEODOSIUS II.

A. D. 404.

About this time began the Troubles of St. *Chryſoſtome*, that worthy Father of the Church, and Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, which ended not but with his Life. Being a declar'd Enemy to all Vice and

St. Chryſoſtome *perſecuted.*

vicious Practices, he often exclaim'd in his Sermon
againſt the Pride, Wantonneſs and Vanity of th
Female Sex, which drew upon him the Ill-will o
ſeveral Ladies in the Court, amongſt whom wer
Marſa, or *Martia*, the Widow of *Promotus*
Caſtruccia, *Saturnius* his Widow; and *Eugraphia*
theſe three joining together perſuaded the Empre
Eudoxia, that St. *Chryſoſtome* in one of his Sermon
had call'd her *Jezebel*, at which ſhe was extreamly
incens'd againſt him. Some Biſhops whom he ha
depos'd by reaſon of their corrupt Lives, and ſeve
ral Prieſts whom he had reprov'd and corrected fo
their Licentiouſneſs, embrac'd ſo favourable an Op
portunity of Revenge; among theſe was *John*, or
of his own Deacons, who produc'd ſeveral Articl
againſt him, to which a Synod of Biſhops, ſum
mon'd for that purpoſe by *Theophilus*, Biſhop
Alexandria, his declar'd Enemy, requir'd him
give his Anſwer. The principal of theſe Articl
were, *That he ſold ſeveral conſecrated Veſſels*; *ha*
laid a Snare to entrap Severian, *Biſhop of* Gabal
had ordain'd four Biſhops at one ſingle Ordination
had ſuffer'd Women to come into his Chamber when
one was by; *had conferr'd Holy Orders on ſever*
Perſons without Teſtimonials, or the Conſent of his Cle
gy, that he eat by himſelf, and led a very beaſtly, glu
tonous Life, and the like. Among thoſe that appear
the moſt vigorous againſt him were *Severian*
Gabala, *Acacius* of *Beræa*, and *Antiochus* of *Pto*
maius; who tho' they were all Men remarkable
their Generation for their Eloquence and Know
ledge of the Scriptures, yet did they ſuffer ther
ſelves to be miſ-led by *Theophilus*, either out
Envy to his great Reputation, or ſome other priva
Regard. After ſeveral Citations, this Mock-Syno
preſum'd to pronounce a formal Sentence upon hi
tho' they all knew that the Particulars with whi

e was charg'd were either falſe or inſignificant. Having by Unanimity of Voices declar'd him de-os'd from his Function, they order'd their Sen-ence to be communicated as well to the Clergy as he Court, and undertook to inform the Emperor, hat *Chryſoſtome*, having had the Arrogance to call he Empreſs *Jezebel*, was guilty of High-Treaſon. *Arcadius* confirm'd the Judgment of the Synod, aniſh'd him the City, and conſtrain'd him to em-ark in an obſcure, tempeſtuous Night, and retire o *Prenotus* in *Bithynia*.

But the Day following both the Emperor and he Empreſs were ſo alarm'd at a terrible Earth-uake, in which the Emperor's Apartment ſuffer'd ery much, that they reſolv'd to recal him; he re-urn'd accordingly, and was reſtor'd to his Bi-hoprick, from which however he was again thruſt ut not long after. For a Statue being erected in Honour of the Empreſs, near the great Church of t. *Sophia*, in *Conſtantinople*; thoſe who had the Care of the Dedication repreſented ſeveral Idolatrous hows to the People, who, pleas'd with the Perfor-ance, gave ſuch a loud and tumultuous Applauſe, s diſturb'd and interrupted the Divine Service; ereupon the Biſhop exclaim'd, with his uſual Zeal, gainſt the Authors of ſuch an unreaſonable Diſ-rder, and let fall ſome Words relating to the Oc-aſion of it, which being reported to the Empreſs, ere made to ſpeak a Senſe different from what he ntended, which reviv'd her Diſlike to him, and ade her reſolve to ruin him; whereupon ſhe ſtir-d up his old Enemies againſt him, ſupported 'em ith her Authority and Intereſt in the Emperor, nd never left off 'till he was once more Depos'd nd Baniſh'd. For three Years together he liv'd an Exile, labouring under great Hardſhips in his own erſon, and under no leſs in thoſe his Friends were made

made to endure for his ſake. His Enemies ſtill per-
ſiſted to perſecute him even in his Exile, procuring
him to be remov'd, by the Emperor's Order, from
place to place, and to be roughly us'd by the Sol-
diers who had the Charge of him; at laſt, having
ſuffer'd all the Fatigues of a three Months Voyage
during which they hurry'd him up and down with
much Inhumanity, tho' he had a Feaver upon him
occaſion'd by their barbarous Treatment, which
they plainly told him they did by Order from the
Court, that he might die upon the Road, they
brought him to *Cumana*, in a Temple near which
Place they lodg'd him for that Night; the next
Morning the Holy Biſhop finding his End ap-
proaching, and that he had not long to live, deſir'd
them to defer their Journey but for a few Hours
which they were ſo far from granting, that they
preſs'd him with more haſte than ordinary, but
were ſcarce advanc'd a League and half on their
Way before they found his Feaver ſo ſtrong upon
him that they were forc'd to return back to the
Temple, where, upon the Fourth of *November*, he
expir'd. In his Life he ſtood the main Champion
for the Purity of the Chriſtian Religion, and in his
Death was a Reproach to ſeveral who openly pro-
feſs'd, and ought to have been as ſhining Lights to
the reſt of the World, but had not arriv'd to the
Purity of Spirit and Integrity of Heart, requir'd
and enforc'd ſo often in the Goſpel. We may
learn from the Sufferings this great Man endur'd
how requiſite a Brotherly Love is to the Peace and
Unity of the Church, and that the want of it does
not proceed more from a Diſagreement in Points of
Doctrine, than from ſome private Ends and ſelfiſh
Conſiderations, from which the Fathers of the
Church themſelves are not always free.

The

That St. *Chryſoſtome* ow'd all his Misfortunes to the Malice of the Empreſs *Eudoxia*, we have no reaſon to doubt. She was, according to the Hiſtorian, a Woman inſupportably Inſolent, impoſing upon her Husband, and being impos'd upon by her Eunuchs, who committed great Diſorders, and brought innumerable Corruptions into the Court, which was peſter'd with Paraſites and Informers; ſo that if St. *Chryſoſtome* tax'd her obliquely in his Sermons, it as well became the great Character he bore in the Church, as it became her Pride to reſent it. The Night after his ſecond Baniſhment the Epiſcopal Palace took Fire, the Flames of which laid hold on the Roof of the great Church adjoining to it, which was preſently reduc'd to Aſhes, together with the Hall where the Senate us'd to aſſemble. This Misfortune was imputed to St. *Chryſoſtome*'s Friends, as if they had ſet Fire to the Church with an Intent to have no other Biſhop there but himſelf; upon which Conſideration they were cruelly perſecuted, and thrown into Priſon, where ſeveral of 'em dy'd of the Torments inflicted on 'em: But the Intelligence the Court had of ſome freſh Commotions put a ſtop to their violent Proceedings; for the *Iſauri*, who inhabited the moſt inacceſſible Places of the Mountain *Taurus*, fell in ſeveral Bodies down upon the adjacent Country, where they over-ran the Villages and unfortify'd Towns, which they ſack'd and plunder'd. The Court made Choice of one *Arbazacius* to oppoſe 'em, and relieve *Pamphylia*. Upon his Approach they retir'd back into the Mountains, whither he purſu'd 'em, and apply'd himſelf with ſo much Vigour to the Service at firſt, that had he perſiſted he might have totally ſubdu'd 'em, and prevented the like Depredations for the future; but being a Man given up naturally to Eaſe and Pleaſure he grew remiſs,

A Fire in Conſtantinople.

remiſs, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be brib'd, preferring his private Gain to the publick Good. Of this great Complaint was made to the Court, whither he was ſent for in order to be call'd to an Account for his Prevarication; but preſenting the Empreſs with part of what he had gotten from the *Iſaurians* he evaded the Proſecution, and ſpent the reſt in the faſhionable Diverſions of the City.

A. D. 406. Radagaiſus *Invades* Italy.

The Year following *Rome* was again threaten'd with no leſs than an utter Deſtruction, from an Inundation of Barbarians led on by *Radagaiſus*, term'd by St. *Auſtin* King of the *Goths*. He obſerving *Alarich*, after his diſgraceful Overthrow, was receiv'd into Confederacy with the *Romans*, and being honour'd and reſpected by 'em was averſe from War, and willing to be at Peace with them, perſuaded the Nations inhabiting the other Side of the *Rhine* and the *Iſter* to fall into *Italy*, and revenge upon it the late Slaughter of their Countrymen, alluring 'em with Hopes of taking *Rome*, the Wealth of which he promis'd to give up to 'em. Hereupon a Body of four hundred thouſand Men united themſelves under him, and march'd directly for *Italy*. Upon the firſt Intelligence of their Motions, *Stilicho* adviſ'd *Honorius* to add to his *Roman* Legions ſuch Numbers of the *Hunns* and *Alans* as were willing to ſerve him under the Conduct of *Uldes* and *Sarus*; and as if all theſe were not ſufficient to encounter ſuch Swarms of Barbarians he invited the Slaves to take Arms upon Promiſe of Liberty, a thing never known to be done, but when the Common-wealth was reduc'd to the greateſt Extremity; and that thoſe that were Free men might be encourag'd to arm themſelves in Defence of their Country, he engag'd himſelf to pay them that came in by ſuch a time, a certain Sum by way of Advance or Gratuity.

Rada-

Radagaiſus having in the mean time ravag'd all *Pannonia*, was paſs'd the *Julian Alps* and got into *Italy*, directing his Courſe towards *Rome*, which he was already Maſter of in his Imagination. Being a Heathen he was very ſuperſtitious, performing his Sacrifices every Morning to his Gods. As he drew near the City the *Romans* were in the greateſt Conſternation; and the Heathens, who ſtill made up a conſiderable Part of the Inhabitants, declar'd aloud that Radagaiſus *would aſſuredly prevail, not ſo much upon the Account of his numerous Forces as his Devotion to the Gods, who were baniſh'd by the ungrateful Citizens from* Rome, *which had deſerted their Worſhip, and forſaken them that had ſo often defended her; therefore unleſs the ancient Religion was reſtor'd, and Chriſtianity aboliſh'd, the City would certainly fall into the Hands of the Barbarus.* With ſuch Complaints as theſe was every Corner of the City fill'd, and Chriſt's Name blaſphem'd as the Occaſion of the preſent Camilities. *Stilicho* had prudently declin'd oppoſing himſelf againſt *Radagaiſus* and his numerous Army, whilſt he was in the open Champaign Country, where he might in a manner be ſurrounded by the Barbarians; but when he found him advanc'd as far as *Hetruria*, call'd at preſent *Tuſcany*, a Region full of craggy Mountains and narrow Vallies, and that he was ſet down before *Florence*, which he had ſo well ſupply'd with Neceſſaries that it was able to make a very vigorous Defence, then like a wary Captain he thought fit to ſet upon him: Accordingly he advanc'd towards him, and after he had ſufficiently weary'd out his Army in that Siege, he watch'd an Opportunity, and fell upon his Rear with ſo much Reſolution, that no leſs than an hundred thouſand of his Men were cut off, without the Loſs of one Man on the *Roman* ſide. He drew up with the reſt

Radagaiſus *defeated.*

of

of his Army to the Mountains of *Fæſulæ*, where he ſecur'd his Men from the *Roman* Attacks, but expos'd 'em to the Inconvenience of a barren deſolate Place, in which they were cloſely beſieg'd by *Stilicho*. In this Condition he attempted to eſcape, and leave his Men to the Mercy of the *Romans*, into whoſe Hands he fell, together with his Sons, and was ſhortly after put to Death. The reſt of the Barbarians, overcome with Hunger, ſubmitted in ſuch great Numbers that they were ſold by the *Romans* like Beaſts, a whole Drove at a time: But having contracted an ill Habit of Body by their long Faſting, and unwholſome Diet afterwards, they all dy'd in a few Days; and *Stilicho* had a Statue of Braſs erected to his Memory, as a Reward for his great Induſtry and extraordinary Service.

and ſlain.

Whilſt *Europe* was thus harraſs'd and oppreſs'd by the Barbarians, the State of *Africk* was ſerene and quiet; but the Repoſe of the Church was interrupted by the Donatiſts, who us'd the Catholicks with great Outrage and Violence. *Aurelius*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, had ſummon'd a Synod againſt 'em, from whence *Theatius* and *Anodius*, two venerable Prelates, were deputed with Letters to the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, in which they inform'd 'em *that they had left nothing unattempted to reduce thoſe Hereticks to the Church; but that they ſtill continu'd obſtinate, and inſtead of inclining to their Chriſtian Propoſals, they fell in a moſt outragious manner upon thoſe Catholicks that came in their way, and had forcibly ſeiz'd upon ſeveral of their Churches. Theſe Proceedings made 'em fly to their Majeſties for Protection, beſeeching 'em to have a regard to the Catholick Intereſt, and put a Stop to the Violence of thoſe Hereticks, leſt they compell'd the People by Force to ſubſcribe to their miſchievous Doctrines.* *Honorius* readily granted their Requeſt, and

nd proceeded with great Rigour againſt the Dona-
iſts, by which means ſeveral of 'em relinquiſh'd
heir Errors, and return'd into the Boſom of the
Church. But the moſt zealous among 'em would
iſten to no Accommodation, but exercis'd great
Cruelties upon all thoſe who were not of their Per-
uaſion, whenever they could lay their Hands upon
em.

This ſame Year the Barbarians pour'd themſelves with freſh Forces into the Empire, under the Conduct of *Godegiſil*, King of the *Vandals*, who ſeeing *Italy* diſtracted with Wars on every ſide, thought he had now a fit Opportunity to invade *Gaul*; which being remov'd far from the Emperor's Preence, could not be ſo ſpeedily reliev'd. Departing herefore out of *Scythia* at the Head of his *Vandals* nd *Alans*, he firſt march'd through *Sarmatia*, where e was join'd by ſome of the *Quadi* and other Bararians, who had formerly ſettled themſelves there y the Permiſſion of *Conſtantine* the Great. With heſe he enter'd into *Germany*, where great Numers of the Inhabitants aſſociated themſelves with im, either forc'd to it through Fear, or allur'd by he hopes of Plunder. Having now a very numeous Army at his Command, he advanc'd with all Expedition to the *Rhine*, where the *Franks* at firſt ppos'd him, either out of regard to a League they ad lately enter'd into with *Stilicho*, or for that they were willing to preſerve a Province they hop'd one Day to be Maſters of themſelves, from the Incurſions of ſo numerous an Enemy; but being overpower'd with Odds they were forc'd to retire, and uffer *Godegiſil* to advance with his Army, who aſs'd the *Rhine* the thirtieth of *December*, *Ann. Dom.* 406, *Arcadius* being the ſixth time and *Proinus* Conſuls.

A new Invaſion of the Barbarians.

They

They were no ſooner got on the other ſide the *Rhine*, but they miſerably harraſs'd the Country on every ſide, whilſt the Governors of the Provinces who had been plac'd there by the Emperor, were in no Condition to oppoſe 'em. The firſt City that felt their Fury was *Mayence*, which they took by Aſſault, here many thouſands of the Inhabitants fled for Refuge into their Churches, whom however they moſt cruelly maſſacred, and then raſed the City. *Wormes* held out a conſiderable time, but deſpairing of any Relief they at laſt ſurrender'd at Diſcretion. The Cities of *Spires* and *Strasbourgh* follow'd the ſame Fate, being taken and pillag'd. From hence they march'd to *Rheims*, which they took by Storm; after which they cut off the Head of *Nicaſius*, Biſhop of the Place, and put his Siſter *Eutropia*, and great multitudes of the other Inhabitants, to Death. From *Rheims* they went to *Arras*, *Tournay*, *Amiens*, and up as far as the Sea-Coaſt about *Calice* and *Bologne*, ſacking and pillaging all the Towns they met with in their March.

The Britains *rebel, and ſet up a new Emperor.*

This Misfortune was attended by another; for the Inhabitants and Troops that were quarter'd in *Britain*, fearing leſt the *Vandals* ſhould paſs over the Sea and ſubdue them with the reſt, revolted from their Obedience to *Honorius*, and ſet up one *Marcus*, whom they declared Emperor. Preſently after, being on a ſudden grown weary of their new Prince they depriv'd him of his Life and Dignity together, and plac'd one *Gratian* in his Room, who was a Countryman of their own. Him they veſted with an Imperial Robe, and dutifully attended him for four Months together, but then upon ſome Diſlike they murder'd him, and conferr'd the Sovereignty upon one *Conſtantine*; not ſo much in reſpect to his Courage, for he was a very inconſiderable Man in the Army, but in regard of his Name, which they look

look'd upon as fortunate, and importing good Succeſs: For they were in hopes he would deliver 'em from the Barbarians who had over-run *Gaul*, and govern the Empire with Honour and Reputation, as *Conſtantine* the Great had done in the foregoing Age, who was of the ſame Name, and had been advanc'd to the Imperial Dignity in the ſame Iſland. This new Prince, immediately after his Promotion, paſs'd over into *Gaul*, and taking with him the very Flower of all the *Britiſh* Youth, ſo utterly exhauſted the Military Force of the Iſland, that it was wholly broken, and the Iſland left naked to new Invaders, by which means ſhe loſt her old Inhabitants, and ſubmitted to the Power of other Lords.

Conſtantine, as ſoon as he was got on the other ſide, laid Siege to *Bologn*, which he carry'd with little Oppoſition, after which all the *Roman* Forces in the Country came readily in and join'd him; by whoſe Aſſiſtance he made himſelf Maſter in a ſhort time of all *Gallia Celtica*, and a great part of *Aquitain*, whilſt *Limenius*, *Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Carietto*, General of the Foot, concluding it impoſſible to reſiſt *Conſtantine* and the *Vandals* both at once, fled into *Italy* with the Relicts of their Army; leaving the *Vandals* to waſte the Country on one ſide, and *Conſtantine* to purſue his Succeſs on the other.

Honorius receiv'd the firſt Intelligence of this Revolt at *Ravenna*, where he was intent upon raiſing an Army, which was to march into *Illyricum* and join *Alarich*, as it had been formerly agreed between 'em, and together with him fall upon his Brother's Territories; to which he had been induc'd either at the Inſtigation of *Stilicho*, who found he had great Enemies in *Arcadius* his Court, or becauſe *Honorius* thought himſelf affronted in his Ambaſſadors, by the rough Uſage they receiv'd from *Arcadius*,

cadius, to whom they were ſent with Letters from his Brother in behalf of St. *Chryſoſtome*. But as ſoo as he was inform'd of theſe ſtrange Revolutions i *Gaul*, he chang'd his Deſign, and ſo the *Illyri* Expedition was interrupted.

A. D. 408. Arcadius *dies.*

The Year following, on the firſt of *May*, in th Conſulſhip of *Baſſus* and *Philippus*, *Arcadius* the Em peror dy'd at *Conſtantinople*; he left behind him o Son, and four Daughters; *Pulcheria*, *Placilla*, *A cadia*, and *Marina*; who became all of 'em ill ſtrious for their Piety, and Zeal for the true Relig on. *Arcadius* dy'd in the Flower of his Age, bei not full one and thirty Years old; of which he h reign'd twelve with his Father, and thirteen Ye three Months and fifteen Days after his Death. H

His Character.

was himſelf a Prince well inclin'd, a great Lover his Subjects, and a Friend to Juſtice and Sobriety, b he ſuffer'd himſelf to be too much rul'd and impo upon by his Favourites, who abuſing his Author moſt grievouſly oppreſs'd his Subjects. He was ſom thing too uxorious, eſpecially at the latter end his Reign, which involv'd the Government in agr many Difficulties, and introduc'd ſtrange Corrup ons into the Court. He left for his Succeſſor *Th doſius* ſirnamed the Younger, being at his Fathe Death no more than ſeven Years old, but he reig above two and forty Years after his Deceaſe.

III. *Arcadius* found by the Meaſures his B ther *Honorius* took, and his Practices in *Illyric* that he had little Reaſon to depend upon him; fo

He makes the King of Perſia his Son's Guardian.

ing therefore leſt after his Death he ſhould ſt his Son of the Empire, he left him to the Care Protection of *Iſdegerdes*, King of *Perſia*, with wh he had lately enter'd into a ſtrict League and A ance for an hundred Years, and in whoſe appro Honour and Virtue he knew his Son would fin ſure Refuge. *Iſdegerdes* undertook the Charge w

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Sincerity, and acquitted himſelf as faithfully; for being unable to quit his own Dominion, and take care of *Theodoſius*, or attend to the Adminiſtration in Perſon, he ſent *Antiochus* in his room to *Conſtantinople*, a prudent, honeſt, and experienc'd Stateſman; to whom was join'd in Authority *Anthemius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who had been Conſul three Years before: He was one of the greateſt Men of the Age, being a zealous Chriſtian, a vigilant Stateſman, an honeſt Courtier, and a valiant Soldier. *Socrates* ſaith he encompaſs'd *Conſtantinople* with new Walls and Fortifications, that he never undertook any thing without the Advice and Approbation of the ableſt Men in the State, but above all others he rely'd much upon *Troilus* the Sophiſt, a wiſe Man, and of much Experience. Some ſay *Anthemius*, the better to ſecure the Empire to *Theodoſius*, procur'd the Peace between the *Romans* and *Perſians* for an hundred Years; which however was confirm'd in his Father's Life-time, as we obſerv'd before, tho' 'tis very likely he might be inſtrumental in the cauſing it to be renew'd.

This Peace contributed very much to the Advancement of the Chriſtian Faith in *Perſia*, whither *Maruthas*, Biſhop of *Meſopotamia*, being ſent in an Embaſſie, he is ſaid to have cured the King by his Prayers of a Diſtemper under which he had been long afflicted, and deliver'd his Son who was poſſeſs'd with a Devil. Theſe Cures were look'd upon as miraculous, in conſideration of which the Prince gave *Maruthas* leave to build ſeveral Churches throughout his Dominions; and was almoſt perſwaded to embrace the Faith himſelf, having diſcover'd the Impoſtures of his own falſe Doctors, among which this was not the leaſt remarkable. The *Magi*, who were afraid Chriſtianity was going to be built upon the Ruins of Paganiſm, convey'd a Socrat. L. 7. C. 8.

Man privately under the Temple of the Sun, wh
when the King came thither to perform his Sacri
ces, cry'd out from beneath with a hollow and di
mal Voice, that Iſdegerdes *ought to be dethron*
having provoked the God of the Perſians *by his im*
ous Favours ſhown to the Chriſtians. This Voi
which he thought came from Heav'n, at firſt mu
ſurpriz'd the ſuperſtitious Prince, but he was ſo
undeceiv'd by *Maruthas*, who adviſ'd him to op
the Ground near that Place where the Voice ſeem
to be deliver'd; which was no ſooner done but th
diſcover'd a Hole wherein a Man lay conceal'd, w
was immediately put to Death by the King's Ord
together with ſeveral of the *Magi*. This Relat
will not ſeem ſtrange to thoſe, who are not ignor
of the many Impoſtures put upon the World now
days by the villainous Artifices of the *Ro*
Prieſts.

Honorius had not as yet heard of his Broth
Death, but had his Thoughts intent upon *Conſt*
tine, and his Progreſs in *Gaul*, againſt whom *Sa*
cho had ſent one *Sarus* at the Head of a ſuffici
Army; who meeting with *Juſtinian*, one of
Uſurper's Officers, a Man ignorant and uncapa
he kill'd him upon the Place, with the greateſt
of his Forces; and having got a very rich Bo
he march'd towards *Valentia*, whither he heard C
ſtantine was remov'd, and where he reſolv'd to
ſiege him. *Nevigaſtes* was another of the Uſurp
Generals, whom *Sarus* by fair Promiſes drew o
his Party, but afterwards order'd him to be ſ
contrary to the Faith he had given him. Into t
Places *Conſtantine* advanc'd *Gerontius* and *Edobec*
the one a *Frank*, and the other born in *Britain*.
rus was too ſenſible of the Courage and Experie
of thoſe two Perſons to wait their coming, and th
fore he roſe up in haſte from *Valentia*, after he

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d Siege to it ſeven Days. They purſu'd him ith ſo much Vigour and Execution, that with ng Marches and many Dangers he got to the ps, where he was forc'd to buy his Paſſage into aly by quitting all his Booty to the *Bacaudæ*, an ry deſperate People inhabiting thoſe Parts.

After this *Conſtantine* united all his Forces toge- Conſtan-
er, and with much Diligence fortify'd the *Alps* tine's *Pro-*
t lay between *Gallia Celtica* and *Italy*, and that *greſs.*
might ſecure himſelf from the Inſults of the rbarians, as well as of the *Romans*, he fortify'd e *Rhine*, and then made *Conſtans*, his eldeſt Son, ſar; having recall'd him from *Wincheſter*, as our riters ſay, where he had devoted himſelf to a onaſtical Life. After this *Conſtantine*, having made e of the greateſt Part of *Gaul*, which ſubmitted him, ſettled his Imperial Seat at *Arles*, from hence he ſent *Conſtans*, with a Powerful Army in- *Spain*, where he proceeded with much Succeſs, d took *Didymius* and *Veronianus* Priſoners; theſe re two of *Theodoſius* his Relations, and if we y believe *Zozimus* had much diſturb'd the Af- rs of their Country, which therefore with more adineſs ſubmitted to *Conſtans*; who having com- ted the Command of the Army, and the Care the *Pyrenees* to *Gerontius*, his Lieutenant, he re- n'd into *Gaul*, and preſented the Priſoners to his ther, by whoſe Order they and their Wives were mediately put to Death. All this while *Godegi-* was purſuing his Conqueſts, proceeding out of ul into *Spain*; for by a private Agreement be- xt him and *Conſtantine*, whilſt *Conſtans* was Con- ring the Eaſtern Parts, he was to ſeize on the eſt; whereupon the *Vandals* took *Gallicia*, where y ſettled: The *Suevi* puſh'd their Conqueſts far- r, and the *Alans* fix'd themſelves in *Portugal* d *Andalouſia*. From theſe Barbarians deſcended

the Ancient Kings of *Spain*, the firſt of which i the Catalogue is *Hermenric*, King of *Gallicia*.

Honorius *Marries his firſt Wife's Siſter.*

During theſe Tranſactions in *Gaul* and *Spain*, th Emperor *Honorius*, who had lately loſt his fir Wife, the eldeſt Daughter of *Stilicho*, was ma ry'd to *Thermantia*, her Younger Siſter. This i ceſtuous Match, to which *Stilicho* is ſaid to hav been very averſe, was effected by the Procureme of his Wife *Serena*, who hoped by this means preſerve her Authority over *Honorius*, who inde was very much guided by her. Tho' he had C habited many Years with *Mary* the elder, he n ver had any Children, which made *Serena* more d ſirous to marry him to the younger, being amb tious of Royal Iſſue, but ſhe likewiſe continu Childleſs; the Reaſon of this we have from *Zo mus*, who tells us that when *Honorius* was firſt co tracted to *Mary*, her Mother knew ſhe was t young for his Bed, and yet was not able to p vent or defer the Nuptials; fearing therefore h Daughter's Life to be in Danger, ſhe had recou in this Extremity to an old Woman, who by h Charms work'd ſo far with the Emperor, that h Daughter liv'd and dy'd a Virgin; for it ſee the Spell had a ſtronger Power than was deſign and never forſook the Emperor 'till his Death. this Account be true, they muſt be in an Err who impute the want of Conſummation to the ſu den Death of *Thermantia*, as well as her elder ſter. *Thermantia* was depos'd after her Fath Death, and ſent back to her Mother, as we ſhall hereafter.

Before the Nuptial Solemnity was well o News was brought to Court that *Alarich* hav quitted *Epirus*, and paſs'd the *Straits* between *P nonia* and *Venetia*, was encamp'd at a Town ca *Æmon*, from whence he advanc d into *Bava*

nd ſent to demand of *Stilicho* Mony to pay his rmy, which, upon his Account, had been Quar-er'd ſo long in *Epirus*, and likewiſe to defray the Charges of the preſent Expedition, otherwiſe he hreaten'd to pierce into *Italy*, and lay all waſte be-ore him. Hereupon the Senate was aſſembled, and he Queſtion put what was to be done in this Af-air; after a ſhort Conſultation moſt of the Sena-ors were for a War, in which *Stilicho* and his Par-y oppos'd 'em with great Earneſtneſs. They that were on the other ſide deſir'd to know why he was ſo fond of a Peace, *which was to be bought o the great Diſhonour of the* Roman *Majeſty*, rging that *it became the Dignity of the Empire o chaſtiſe the Inſolence of a Barbarian, that pre-um'd to make a Market both of Peace and War*; o this he anſwer'd, *That* Alarich *had by* Honorius *is Orders continu'd thus long in* Epirus, *in Ex-ectation of being employ'd againſt* Arcadius, *and n Conjunction with the* Roman *Forces to have reſted* Illyricum *from him, and have join'd it to* Honorius *his Dominions; that the thing had long ince been put in Execution, had he not been re-all'd by the Emperor's Letters, procur'd by* Serena's *nans, who was careful to preſerve a good Intelli-ence between the two Brothers.* Whether the hing was juſt and reaſonable or no, *Stilicho* was hought by the Senate to have given a very good nſwer, and ſo it was agreed that *Alarich* ſhould e paid four thouſand Pounds of Gold to keep him uiet, tho' many conſented againſt their Judgments neerly for fear of *Stilicho*; and *Lampadius*, a Man f great Birth and Reputation, openly oppos'd it, firming boldly, *That they were not now buying a eace, but ſigning a Contract of Servitude*; but aring this Liberty of Speech might draw the Fu-y of the Court upon him, as ſoon as the Senate

A War propos'd in the Senate againſt Alarich, *which is oppos'd by* Stilicho.

was up he fled into the next Church for Sanctuary. *Stilicho* having, by Virtue of this Act of Senate, purchas'd a Peace from *Alarich*, prepar'd all things for his intended Expedition againſt *Conſtantine* in *Gaul*. *Honorius* himſelf had a mind to take a Progreſs to *Ravenna*, there to view and encourage the Army that was to defend him and the Empire againſt ſo conſiderable an Enemy; to this *Stilicho* was very averſe, for he had no mind the Emperor ſhould keep any Correſpondence with the Army; and therefore endeavour'd, by all Perſuaſions poſſible, to divert him from it; but finding him firm to his Reſolution, he procur'd *Sarus*, Captain of the Barbarians that lay at *Vienna*, to raiſe ſome Diſturbance, not aiming by it at any Innovation, but only to frighten the Emperor, and deter him from his intended Progreſs.

About this time the Emperor heard of the Death of *Arcadius*, and ſent for *Stilicho* to *Bononia* to confer with him about the Publick Affairs of the Empire. *Honorius* had a Mind to take a Journey into the Eaſt, to look after his young Nephew's Intereſt, and ſettle the Affairs in thoſe Parts; this *Stilicho* oppos'd with many weighty Arguments, ſhowing him *how expenſive ſuch an Expedition muſt needs be, how neceſſary his Reſidence was in* Italy *at this Conjuncture*; *that* Conſtantine, *who had already over-run all* Gaul, *would take the Advantage of his Abſence, and bring more Miſchief upon the Empire*; he added, *that* Alarich *himſelf, tho now in Peace with him, was deceitful and a Barbarian, having a powerful Army at his Command, and therefore not too far to be truſted*. He rather propos'd that Alarich's *Forces ſhould be join'd to the* Roman *Legions*; *that the Army ſo united ſhould be under the joint Command of* Alarich, *and the Officers belonging to thoſe Legions*; *that they ſhould*

ould march with all Expedition againſt the Uſur-
r, and that he himſelf ſhould be diſpatch'd with
Letters from the Emperor to Conſtantinople, *contain-*
ng the Subſtance of what he would have tranſacted
n the Eaſt.

Tho' *Honorius* already began to entertain a Jea- Honorius
louſie of *Stilicho*, yet he approv'd of all he propos'd, *grows jea-*
nd having ſign'd his Letters for *Theodoſius* and *A-* *lous of* Sti-
*laric*h, he departed from *Bononia*, attended by one licho.
Olympius, born nigh the *Euxine* Sea, a Man, ſays *Zoſimus*, who, upon the Reputation of Chriſtian Piety, which he outwardly affected, and a great Pretence to Modeſty and Sobriety, was in very great Eſteem with the Emperor, who advanc'd him to a principal Poſt in the Court, and employ'd him about his Perſon. He diſcourſing with *Honorius* upon the Road, encreas'd the Suſpicions he had lately conceiv'd of *Stilicho*'s Deſigns, and particularly endeavour'd to perſuade him, *that he ſo earneſtly deſir'd to be ſent into the Eaſt for no other reaſon, but that he might have the better Opportunity to* remove Theodoſius, *and transfer the Sovereignty of thoſe Parts upon his Son* Eucherius; *to which purpoſe he held private Correſpondence with* Alarich, *with* Godegiſil, *and even the Uſurper* Conſtantine, *with whom he had hitherto prolong'd the War on purpoſe to make himſelf conſiderable to the State, and powerful in the Army.* He ſo throughly convinc'd the Emperor of this, and whatever elſe he had to alledge againſt *Stilicho*, that he reſolv'd to get rid of him as ſoon as he could, and gave *Olympius* and *Sarus* Orders to deſtroy him. At *Ticinum*, *A Mutiny*
or *Pavia*, *Olympius* wrought ſo cunningly with the *at* Ticinum.
Soldiers, who had no Kindneſs for *Stilicho*, that they all mutiny'd, and in a tumultuous manner ſlew all thoſe who were known to be well affected to *Stilicho*; among theſe were *Limenius*, *Præfectus Prætorio*

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in *Gaul*, and *Chariabaudes*, who had lately fled from *Conſtantine*, as we obſerv'd before, and were now come to the Emperor to *Ticinum*; together with theſe they ſlew *Vincentius*, *Salvius*, *Nemorius*, *Patronius* and *Longinianus*, who was *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*. Theſe were all Men Eminent in the State, but of the Inferior ſort there fell Multitudes without Number. *Stilicho* was ſtill at *Bononia* when the Report of this Sedition was brought to him, and in great Conſternation call'd the Officers of the Confederated Barbarians together, with whom he conſulted what Courſe was proper to be taken. *Stilicho* at firſt was inform'd that the Emperor himſelf had miſcarry'd in the Tumult, and therefore it was unanimouſly agreed among 'em, that if *Honorius* was Slain, all the Confederates ſhould fall up on the *Roman* Soldiers, and by chaſtiſing them reſtrain the reſt; but if the Tempeſt fell only upon the Magiſtrates, than the Ringleaders of the Mutiny ſhould be puniſh'd as an Example to the reſt. By a ſecond Expreſs *Stilicho* was inform'd that no Violence had been offer'd to the Emperor's Perſon, that the Mutiny was begun by *Olympius* his Procurement, and that none but his own Friends had ſuffer'd in it; by this he ſaw they aim'd ſolely at him, and that it was time for him to conſult his own Safety; whereupon he reſolv'd to remove to *Ravenna*, a ſtrong Town well inhabited, and at his Devotion; but *Sarus*, who commanded the Barbarians that were in Garriſon there, ſeiz'd upon *Stilicho*'s Guards by Command from the Emperor, and order'd him to be taken into Cuſtody; he having notice of it fled by Night into a Church of the Chriſtians, from whence he was taken out the next Day by his own Conſent, after the Soldiers had affirm'd upon Oath, in preſence of the Biſhop, that they had no Orders from the Emperor to kill

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but ſecure him; however he was no ſooner remov'd out of the Church, before they produc'd freſh Letters from *Honorius* with a Warrant for his Death, which was executed accordingly on the twenty third of *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 408. the Senate at the ſame time ordering his Name to be ras'd out of all Publick Places, and his Statues to be demoliſh'd. The Hiſtorians of thoſe Times are not agreed in the Circumſtances of this Execution, but concur ſo far in the Subſtance as we have related it. *Zoſimus* indeed diſagrees with himſelf, for whereas at firſt we were told of his Rapine and Oppreſſion, his Luxury and Debauchery, he at parting repreſents him as a Man the moſt Modeſt of all others, who at that time were entruſted with the Management; for tho' he was nearly ally'd to the Emperor *Theodoſius*, and had marry'd both his Daughters to his Son *Honorius*, tho' he had exercis'd the Office of General for three and twenty Years together, yet was his Son advanc'd to no higher Employment than *Tribune of the Notaries*, nor was he ever known to prefer any Perſon in the Army for the ſake of his Mony, ſo that upon the whole he ſeems neither pleas'd with his Advancement nor Diſgrace; but in this he follows his old Maxim of arraigning, as much as he can, the Actions of all Chriſtian Princes, and might probably bear a greater Reſpect to the Cauſe and Perſon of *Stilicho* for the ſake of his Son *Eucherius*, who to make himſelf acceptable to the Heathens threaten'd, that if ever he ſhould be advanc'd to the Imperial Dignity, he would begin his Reign with the Reſtitution of the Temples, and Deſtruction of Churches. Thoſe, who are leſs partial to *Stilicho*'s Memory, ſay he juſtly deſerv'd the Death he ſuffer'd, that he introduc'd *Alarich* into *Honorius* his Dominions, and call'd the barbarous Nations into the Weſt. After all we

Stilicho put to Death.

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muſt allow him to have been a very great Stateſman, and a Perſon of very Excellent Qualities, but that he was too much perverted by Ambition, which blinded and deſtroy'd him. He was a Valiant Soldier, and Experienc'd General, ready in forming any Deſign, and as ſucceſsful in the Execution of it. *Honorius* was ſo implicitly guided in his Counſels by him, that for a long time he did nothing without his Approbation, ſo that he ſeem'd to be more Abſolute in the Empire than the Emperor himſelf, having a vaſt Capacity in the Management of Affairs relating either to War or Peace.

Immediately after his Death his own Eſtate, and that of his Friends and Adherents, were by Publick Edict Confiſcated to the Emperor's Uſe. *Thermantia*, the Empreſs, was depos'd and ſent home to her Mother: *Eucherius* was ſeiz'd at *Narny*, and convey'd from thence to *Rome*, where, by the Emperor's Order, he was put to Death. *Theodoſius* was acquainted by Letters from *Honorius* of his Favourite's Death, and the occaſion of it; a ſtrict Alliance was concluded between 'em, and in purſuance of it they enter'd together into the Conſulate, tho' this happen'd not 'till the Year following. The Emperor's Officers proceeded with great Severity againſt the Friends of *Stilicho*, and when the Soldiers that were Quarter'd up and down in the Cities of *Italy* heard of his Death, they flew inſtantly upon the Wives and Children of the Barbarians, who upon *Stilicho*'s Account, had enter'd into the Emperor's Pay, and putting all to the Sword ſeiz'd on whatever they had. This prov'd of very ill Conſequence, for when their Husbands, Fathers and Relations heard of this abominable Cruelty, and the impious Violation of the Faith given them in a ſolemn manner by the *Romans*, they vow'd Revenge, and reſolv'd to join with *Alarich*, and in

What follow'd upon Stilicho's Death.

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Conjunction with him enter into a War againſt the *Romans*. Accordingly above thirty thouſand of 'em quitted the Emperor's Service at once and retired towards *Alarich*, who at firſt ſeem'd cautious of receiving 'em, or giving Ear to their Propoſals; for a full Year was not expir'd ſince his laſt Peace with the Emperor, to whom he ſent Meſſengers with Offers to confirm it, and to propoſe to him, That if he would raiſe him a ſmall Sum of Mony to pay his Army their Arrears, and deliver up as Hoſtages for performance of Articles *Ætius* the Son of *Gaudentius*, and *Jaſon* the Son of *Jovius*, he in exchange would ſend him ſome among the chiefeſt of the Nobility in his own Nation, and withdraw his Troops out of *Noricum* into *Pannonia*. *Honorius* being miſ-led by ill Counſel rejected his Propoſals, and ſo loſt an Opportunity of making, if not a very honourable, at leaſt a very advantageous Peace; and yet at the ſame time made no Proviſions for a War. Had he muſter'd his Forces together from all Quarters, and ſo diſpos'd of 'em as to have ſtopp'd the Enemy in his Paſſage, or prevented his farther Progreſs; had he made choice of *Sarus* for his General, whoſe very Name was a Terror to the Enemy both for his Courage and Experience, and who had with him a great Number of Barbarians that upon trial would have been found able to make a great Reſiſtance, he had in ſome meaſure provided againſt the Attempts of ſo powerful an Adverſary: But relying wholly upon the Advice and Humours of *Olympius*, he involv'd the State in great Calamities, chuſing ſuch Perſons for his Generals, as at once created Contempt and Confidence in the Minds of his Enemies; for he gave the Command of the Horſe to *Turpillio*, of the Foot to *Varanes*, and made *Vigilantius* General of the Troops of the Houſhold, Men of little Courage, and leſs Experience.

Alarich's *Offers rejected by* Honorius.

The

A. D. 409. The Year following *Alarich* ſent for *Ataulfus*, hi Wife's Brother, out of *Pannonia*, to come and joi him with the *Huns* and *Goths* which he had i great Numbers under him, and be his Aſſociate i the War; but without ſtaying for his Arrival h began his March, in Execution of his mighty De ſigns; and quitting *Noricum* he paſs'd the *Alps*, an deſcended into *Friuli*, leaving *Aquileia* and *Padua* o the left Hand: Paſſing the *Po* without any Oppoſi tion, he drew near to *Ravenna*, and encamp'd wit his Army in the Country adjoining to it. Fro thence he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Honorius*, who w then lying in the Town, with Offers not only o Peace but *of his Service, provided he and his Me might have ſome Habitations aſſign'd 'em in* Italy promiſing, *upon that conſideration, to ſerve hi and the Empire faithfully.* Tho' *Honorius* was ſen ſible *Alarich*'s Forces were much ſuperior to hi and that he was unable to give him Battel, yet r lying upon the Strength of *Ravenna*, and other C ties that were well fortify'd, together with the Sup plies he expected out of the Eaſt, he was deaf his Propoſals, and anſwer'd him with much Aſſ rance, *that he was reſolv'd never to condeſcend any Offers he ſhould make whilſt he continu'd* Italy; *out of which he adviſ'd him inſtantly to r tire with his Army, unleſs he had a mind to be dr ven out by main Force, as he had been once befor which he had great reaſon to remember.* *Alari* incens'd at this haughty Anſwer, mov'd with h Army towards *Rimini* and the *Picentin*, from thenc into *Umbria*, call'd at preſent St. *Peter*'s Patrimon raging with Fire and Sword on every ſide as h paſs'd, to render himſelf the more terrible; and this manner march'd directly to *Rome*, ſtopping u all the Paſſages that led to it: By which means th City, which was crouded with Inhabitants, was pr

He enters Italy,

and marches to Rome.

. ſentl

ſently reduc'd to Famine, which was attended by a Peſtilence, proceeding from the unwholſome Diet they were forc'd in that Exigence to make uſe of, and the Infection of the Air ariſing from great numbers of the Dead that lay up and down the Streets unbury'd, which made that great City look like a large Charnel-Houſe. In this Extremity the Senate diſpatch'd their Ambaſſadors out to *Alarich*, to deſire him *either to grant 'em a Peace upon reaſonable and moderate Terms, or give 'em leave to come out in Battel-Array, and fight it out with him in the open Field like true* Romans. Upon this he burſt out into a loud Laughter, and anſwer'd *Thick Graſs was eaſier cut than thin.* When they came to debate about a Peace he demanded with an inſolent Barbarity *all their Gold and Silver, all their rich Moveables, together with their Slaves, without which he was reſolv'd never to raiſe the Siege*; and when he was ask'd what he would leave the Inhabitants, he reply'd ſternly, *Their Lives.* Hereupon they deſir'd he would grant 'em a ſhort Truce in order to a farther Treaty, which having obtain'd they return'd into the City. The Heathens that were then in *Rome*, ſeeing themſelves reduc'd to ſuch Hardſhips began to cry aloud, that Recourſe ought to be had to the Gods who had heretofore ſuccour'd and preſerv'd the City in the greateſt Extremities; and when ſome *Hetruſcan* Augurs affirm'd that the only way to preſerve the City was publickly to reſtore the uſual Sacrifices, the Senate conſented to it: But ſo far was this from relieving the City that it labour'd every Day under ſome new Difficulties. So that they were forc'd to treat a ſecond time with the Barbarian, who agreed to raiſe the Siege upon Payment of five thouſand Pounds of Gold, thirty thouſand of Silver, four thouſand ſilk Garments, three thouſand Skins of Purple Dye, and as many

many Pounds of Pepper; and for as much as a Su ſo immenſe could not be rais'd by any Tax to b laid upon the Citizens, they had therefore recour to the Temples of the Heathen Gods, taking fro thence the Silver and Gold, and whatever rich O naments they found in 'em, and which had hither been apply'd to Idolatrous Purpoſes, wherewith th made good the Deficiency. *Alarich* having receiv the Sum they agreed upon, retir'd with his Arm into *Tuſcany*, without the Concurrence of *Honori* to the Peace, tho' the Senate had ſent and deſi him to be included in it. For *Conſtantine*, who we obſerv'd before had been declar'd Emperor, a had ſettled himſelf in *Gaul* and a great part of *Spa* about this time ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Honori* who were to ask his Pardon for that he had aſſum the Imperial Title which had been forc'd upon hi

Honorius *makes* Conſtantine *his Aſſociate in the Empire.*

Honorius not only admitted of his Excuſe, but ſe him back the Imperial Habit, and aſſociated him the Empire, expecting he would come to his Aſſi ance againſt *Alarich* as he had promis'd; and b ſides the Advantage of having but one Enemy deal with at a time, he thought it the readieſt w to procure the Safety of his Kinſmen, *Veronian* a *Didymius*, of whoſe Murder he was at that time norant. This new Accommodation made *Honor* averſe to any Thoughts of a Treaty with *Alari* tho' the Senate had ſent their Deputies expreſly him upon that account, and *Alarich* inſiſted up nothing but being made Commander in chief of *Roman* Armies, as well Horſe as Foot; to wh *Honorius* could by no means be brought to conſe urging *that it would be a Diſgrace to the Dign of the* Roman *Majeſty, and very prejudicial to Empire*; and ſo the Meſſengers were ſent back wi out any ſatisfactory Anſwer.

Abou

About this time *Ataulfus*, whom *Alarich* had ſent
, as we obſerv'd before, had paſs'd the *Julian*
ps, and was advanc'd into the Coaſts bordering
on the *Adriatick*, with an Intent to join and re-
force *Alarich*'s Army. *Honorius* drew out the
t of his Forces garriſon'd in the Towns thereа-
ts, and ſent 'em under the Conduct of *Olympius*
hinder ſo dangerous a Conjunction; and they be-
'd themſelves ſo well that they kill'd above fif-
n hundred of the Enemy with the Loſs of no
re than ſeventeen Men. Notwithſtanding which
t Piece of Service, *Olympius*, who had been ac-
'd as Author of all the preſent Calamities, being
niſs'd from Court, was forc'd to fly into *Dalma-*
to prevent further Miſchief; after whoſe Diſ-
ce, *Jovius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, ſuc-
ded as chief Miniſter of State to *Honorius*, and
w the Emperor into new Troubles. For being
to propoſe ſome new Conditions of Peace to
rich, in which he appear'd too forward, and
in offended the Emperor; upon his Return he
ght to re-ingratiate himſelf by over-acting his
on the other Hand, and having firſt oblig'd the
peror by Oath never to make Peace with *Ala-*
but wage perpetual War with him, he made
ame himſelf, by touching the Head of the Em-
r, and exacted it from all others that were in
Place or Authority. *Alarich*, enrag'd to ſee
is Propoſitions for an Accommodation rejected,
h'd from *Rimini* towards *Rome*, and reſolv'd to
ege to it a ſecond time; but obſerving that the
eror was raiſing great Bodies of Forces on eve-
le, that he had entertain'd ten thouſand *Hunns*
is Service, and conſidering that the Fate of
is doubtful and precarious, he procur'd ſome
ns to go to the Emperor, and conjure him *not*
ffer *through his Neglect that City, which for*

ſo many Ages had been Miſtreſs of the World, be expos'd as a Prey to the Barbarians, nor give her beautiful Buildings to be burnt and deſtroy but to admit of ſuch moderate Conditions as he propos'd; which were only a ſmall Sum of Mo and Proviſions for his Army, together with Up and Lower Bavaria *for their Habitations, which p but an inconſiderable Tribute to the Empire, were ſubject to the continual Invaſions of their Nei bours: In conſideration of which he was ready contract a perpetual Friendſhip and Society in with the* Romans, *and oblige himſelf to defend Common-wealth againſt all her Enemies whate* All the World were ſurpriz'd at this ſudden unexpected Modeſty in *Alarich*, who declining former Pretenſion, had of himſelf offer'd Cond ons ſo juſt and advantageous to the Empire, as Affairs of the Emperor then ſtood. Notw ſtanding which, *Jovius* and thoſe of his Faction pos'd all Overtures of Peace, alledging they bound themſelves by a ſolemn Oath, ſworn by Head of the Emperor, never to make any Peace w *Alarich*; as if the Obſervance of a raſh, and inc an unjuſt Oath, was to be preferr'd to the We of the State. *Alarich* therefore finding himſe bus'd, march'd directly for *Rome*; and as he proach'd near to the City, he ſent for the princ Inhabitants, and acquainted 'em with *Honorius* invincible Obſtinacy, and threaten'd to take the T by Force, unleſs the Citizens would join with in a War againſt *Honorius*: Which when the I bitants could by no means be perſuaded to do, laid cloſe Siege to the Town, took the Haven in it all the publick Proviſions, which he threat to diſtribute among his own Men, unleſs they ſtantly ſubmitted. They, ſeeing the Neceſſit which they were reduc'd, and that they muſt

New Propoſals from Alarich *rejected by* Honorius.

void

voidably periſh for Hunger, conſented to what *Alarich* had propounded; ſo that inviting him into the City they deliver'd him up *Placidia*, the Emperor's Siſter, as an Hoſtage of their Fidelity, and according to his Command created *Attalus*, Præfect of the City, Emperor; who in return made *Alarich* General of the Army, and *Tertullus*, a Heathen, Conſul for the Year enſuing; diſtributing the other great Offices among Heathens and *Arians*, being himſelf an *Arian*. *Alarich* advis'd him to ſend ſome Troops of Barbarians into *Africk*, under the Command of *Drumas*, to remove *Heraclian*, who commanded there for the Emperor, and might be a great Hindrance to him in the Progreſs of his Affairs: But in this and other things he acted contrary to the Advice of *Alarich*, and behav'd himſelf in every reſpect like a Man whoſe Authority was like to be of a very ſhort Continuance.

Alarich *makes* Attalus *Emperor*,

With the Succours he receiv'd from *Alarich* he undertook to beſiege *Honorius* in *Ravenna*, who, ſuch terrify'd at the Approach of ſo many Enemies ſworn to his Deſtruction, ſent and offer'd to receive him as his Partner in the Empire; but was anſwer'd, *That* Attalus *was ſo far from ſuffering him to enjoy ſo much as the ſimple Name of Emperor, that after he had ſtripp'd him of his Imperial Robes, he would confine him to ſome remote and ſolitary Iſland, where he ſhould ſpend the reſt of his Days in Obſcurity, glad he had ſo eſcap'd with his Life.* The poor Emperor was ſo confounded at the prodigious Arrogance, that he thought of eſcaping to his Nephew *Theodoſius*; but at that inſtant the Cohorts, conſiſting of four thouſand Men, that had been formerly ſent for out of the Eaſt, arriv'd for his Aſſiſtance, which encourag'd him to continue at *Ravenna* in expectation of the Succeſs of his Affairs in *Africk*; concluding if *Heraclian* prevail'd

he ſhould, with the Acceſſion of his Forces, be able to make head againſt *Attalus* and *Alarich*.

Whilſt the War rag'd with ſuch Violence in the midſt of *Italy*, the Provinces abroad labour'd under equal Difficulties, for whilſt ſome were daring to throw off the Authority of the Empire, others preſum'd to uſurp it; but *Honorius* was too much employ'd at home to have any leiſure to look abroad. So that all things were manag'd in *Gaul* and *Spain* according to the Will and Pleaſure of thoſe that were ſtrongeſt.

Alarich was willing more cloſely to beſiege *Honorius* in *Ravenna*, which *Attalus* had block'd up by the Forces under his Command, expecting the Succeſs of his Arms in *Africk*; and when *Alarich* underſtood they had been defeated by *Heraclian*, he began to be weary of his new Emperor, whom he found unequal to ſo great a Charge. His Averſion to him was improv'd by ſome near *Attalus*, who had been regain'd to the Emperor's Intereſt, and made the *Goth* believe that Attalus *had a Deſign upon his Life, the better to aſſure himſelf of the Empire, which he ſcorn'd to hold upon precarious Terms.* This the King was more inclinable to believe, when he obſerv'd that by the ill Conduct of *Attalus* their Affairs were quite ruin'd in *Africk*, that *Heraclian* had ſeiz'd upon all the Ports, and thereby put a Stop to the Importation of any Corn or other Merchandiſe, into *Italy*. This created a great Famine throughout the Country, which was increas'd for that the Lands, by reaſon of the War, had not been till'd for ſeveral Years; but no Place felt it ſo grievouſly as *Rome*, where Men were ready to devour one another, and ſeveral Mothers were reported to have fed upon their own Infants; ſo that *Alarich* ſeeing the publick Calamities encreaſe through the Folly of thoſe who had the Government of Affa-

airs, ſent his Ambaſſadors once more to treat with *Honorius*, promiſing to ſtrip *Attalus* of that Dignity with which he had inveſted him. The Conditions were readily accepted by the Emperor, who on his part offer'd to agree to all his Demands. Hereupon *Alarich* return'd with his Army towards *Rome*, where he publickly deprived *Attalus* of the Imperial Purple, which he ſent to *Honorius*, detaining the Uſurper and his Son *Amphilus* Priſoners. After which he return'd towards *Ravenna*, there to confirm the Peace, on Condition he was made Co-Partner in the Empire, and ſome commodious Part of *Gaul* was aſſign'd him for himſelf and his Men; in Conſideration of which he would be ready to aſſiſt *Honorius* and the Empire upon all Occaſions whatſoever. Both the Heathens and the *Arians* were much offended at this Accommodation, for the one had promis'd themſelves mighty Advantages, *Attalus* himſelf being an *Arian*, and the other no leſs than a Re eſtabliſhment of their Idolatry, which he had promis'd them. But this peacable Face of Affairs was ſhortly after chang'd by the means of *Sarus*, becauſe it no ways countenanc'd his particular Intereſt. He had great Numbers of Barbarians under his own Independent Command, with which he had for ſome time obſerv'd a Neutrality; but when he found *Ataulfus*, who was his Mortal Foe, join'd with *Alarich*, he began to apprehend his Power, and declare openly for *Honorius*: Tho' he knew a Treaty of Peace had been concluded between him and the *Goths*, yet with three hundred of his Men he fell upon the *Goths*, who expected no ſuch Uſage, and kill'd a great Number of 'em. *Alarich*, who concluded that what *Sarus* had done was by *Honorius* his Participation and Conſent, departed in a great Rage, and went with his Army that continu'd

and Degrades him again.

Sarus *prevents an Accommodation.*

Rome *Taken.*

encamp'd near *Rome*, which he preſs'd cloſer than ever, and at laſt took it, whether by Force or Stratagem is hard to be determined, for the Hiſtorians that have written of it are not agreed among themſelves in that Point, any more than to the particular time of the Year in which it was taken; for ſome ſay it was on the firſt of *April*, others on the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, which ſeems the moſt likely. Thus that City, which for many Ages together had pillaged the reſt of the World, and enrich'd herſelf with the Spoils of other Nations, ſuffer'd now in her turn, and beheld that with which ſhe us'd to feed her Pride and Luxury fall into the Hands of Barbarians, her declared Enemies; there was hardly a Houſe throughout that vaſt and opulent City but what ſuffer'd in the common Calamity, ſeveral of 'em being ſet on Fire by the inſolent Soldiers after they had been rifled. *Alarich*, before he broke into it, forbad his Soldiers, at the Peril of their Lives, from moleſting thoſe that fled for Sanctuary into the Churches, eſpecially thoſe of the Holy Apoſtles. He gave 'em free Liberty to plunder where they pleas'd, only they were commanded to abſtain from things conſecrated to Holy Uſes, and to ſpill the Blood of none but ſuch as they found in Arms and endeavouring to make Reſiſtance. Several *Pagans* obſerving the particular Favour ſhown the Chriſtians turn'd Chriſtians too, and fled with them for Safety into their Churches, the Preſervation of which, and the extraordinary Reſpect ſhown 'em by the *Goths* in the midſt of ſo horrible a Confuſion, whilſt their own Idolatrous Temples were induſtriouſly burnt and deſtroy'd, they look'd upon as miraculous. Three Days did the City ſuffer under the Tyranny of the Barbarians, who on the third quitted it of their own accord, and left it in a much better Condition than the *Gauls* or *Ne-*

ro

ro had done, whoſe brutiſh Wantonneſs exceeded the more generous Anger of the Victorious Barbarian; ſo that this ſeem'd a ſhaking of the Rod over the proud City, rather than a thorough Correction; a Denunciation of God's Anger, and not an Execution of his Judgments: Happy had it been for her if ſhe could have taken Warning, and not after ſo many Trials have forc'd the Divine Vengeance down upon her Head. This Captivity of *Rome* fell out in the 18th Year of *Honorius*, the ſecond of the 297th *Olympiad*, in the Conſulſhip of *Varanes* and *Tertullus*, in the 1163d after her Foundation, *A. D.* 410.

CHAP. IV.

From the Taking of Rome *by the* Goths *to the Total Failure of the Weſtern Empire in* Auguſtulus.

Containing the Space of Sixty Six Years.

I. *Alarich* having now in his Power the Imperial City, might eaſily have fix'd himſelf there, and with his Triumphant and Victorious Army have made War upon *Honorius*, and by degrees have united the Body of the Empire to the Head; but whether it proceeded from the want of good Counſel, or the ſecret Pleaſure of Divine Providence, he knew not how to make an advantageous uſe of his Victory, nor ſecure the Conqueſt he had with much Labour and Difficulty obtain'd. Driven out by an Almighty Hand, rather than of his own Accord, his ſtraggling Troops rov'd through *Campania Lucania*, and *Calabria*, waſting the Country, and loading themſelves with the
A. D. Wealth of it; of which when he thought it ſuffi-
411. ciently drain'd, and had gratify'd his Humour to the full upon the Continent, he thought of paſſing with his Army, over into *Sicily*, there to act the ſame Cruelties over again. Accordingly he drew his Forces down to *Rhegium*, where they were Embark'd; but by that time he was got out to Sea a violent Tempeſt ſeiz'd him, which beat him back upon the Coaſts of *Calabria*, where he fell upon *Conſentia*, a ſtrong Town, that refus'd to admit him, and having taken it by Force he gave it up to
plun-

plunder'd by his Soldiers. Here, as he was conſidering what farther Courſe he was to take for the advancement of his Affairs, he was ſuddenly ſeiz'd with a Fit of Sickneſs, which carry'd him off in a few Days. The *Goths* exceedingly lamented the Death of their King, under whoſe Conduct they had perform'd ſuch great Exploits, and met with ſuch extraordinary Succeſs. Leſt the *Romans*, who had been ſo often defeated by him, ſhould come and offer an Indignity to his Bones after he was bury'd, they turn'd the Courſe of the River *Buſento*, by digging a great Canal for the Reception of the Water, and in the midſt of the Channel they bury'd their King, and with him abundance of their Wealth, after which they reſtor'd the Waters to their right Courſe, and kill'd all the Slaves they had employ'd in the Work, that no Diſcovery might be made of the Place. This Solemnity being over, they conſulted about the Choice of a new King, and, after a ſhort Deliberation, it fell upon *Athaulph*, or *Adolph*, Brother-in-Law to the Deceas'd; who, being thus promoted, marry'd *Placidia*, Siſter of *Honorius*, who had been detain'd as an Hoſtage by *Alarich*, but us'd with much Honour by him. This happen'd well to the *Roman* Empire, for being a Woman of good Addreſs, and great Diſcretion, ſhe ſo far inſinuated her ſelf into him, that ſhe inclin'd him which way ſhe pleas'd. He had a Deſign of returning back to *Rome*, of taking it a ſecond time, of ſettling himſelf there, and intended to call it *Gothia* inſtead of *Rome*, the very Name of which he had a great Ambition to obliterate; but ſhe ſo temper'd him by her Prayers, Entreaties and Perſuaſions, that a Treaty was concluded betwixt him and the Emperor upon the ſame Foot with his Brother's, which was that he ſhould quit *Italy*, and retire into *Gaul*, where a commodious Tract ſhould be

The Death of Alarich.

Athaulph, *made King, marries* Placidia.

be aſſign'd for him and his new Subjects; accordingly he went and ſettled in *Gallia Narbonenſis*, where he was acknowledg'd as King, and Allie of the *Romans*, whom he honeſtly aſſiſted afterwards in their *Gallic* Wars; preſently after this the Inhabitants of *Rome*, who had left it in the time of Danger, ſeeing the Storm at laſt blown off, and that there was ſome appearance of Peace, return'd in ſuch great Numbers, that ſhortly after the Town was grown as populous as ever.

Conſtantine *breaks out again*;

And now there was hardly any left able to diſturb the Publick Peace but *Conſtantine*, who, as we obſerv'd before, was receiv'd by *Honorius* into a Partnerſhip of the Empire, upon a Promiſe of his Fidelity for the future, which he had not Honour enough to obſerve, but broke out ſhortly after in hopes of ſeizing *Italy* in the midſt of ſo many Publick Confuſions; whereupon *Honorius*, in Conſideration of his reſtleſs turbulent Spirit, was reſolv'd, if poſſible, to deſtroy him; and making *Conſtantius*, a *Roman* of great Nobility, Valour and Prudence, his Lieutenant-General, he ſent him into *Gaul* with a powerful Army. *Conſtantine* was at that time Beſieg'd in *Arles* by *Gerontius*, who had been formerly his Commander in *Spain*, but having receiv'd ſome Unkindneſs from him, fought at preſent neither for him nor *Honorius*, but labour'd to raiſe one *Maximus*, an Emperor of his own chuſing; whilſt he was preſſing the Siege *Conſtantius* arriv'd with the Army under his Command, whereupon *Gerontius* knowing his Forces to be inferior to his rais'd the Siege, and fled into *Spain* with as many of his Troops as would follow him, for a great many of his Men, neither approving of his Conduct nor his Cauſe, went over to *Conſtantius*. *Gerontius* his ill Fortune purſu'd him into *Spain*, where the Soldiers, offended at him for his ſhameful Flight

attack'

attack'd him in his own Houſe, which he defended with much Courage; and being aſſiſted by no more than one Friend, and a few Slaves, he kill'd above three hundred of them, fighting obſtinately 'till all their Weapons were ſpent, and then the Slaves conſulted their own Safety and fled. *Gerontius* might with eaſe have ſav'd himſelf too, but was detain'd by his Love to his Wife, whom he could not be perſuaded to forſake, who begg'd him to kill her rather than ſuffer her to fall into the Hands of his Enemies; wherefore when he found there was no room left for Hope, he firſt cut off the Head of his Friend, after that his Wife's, and then diſpatch'd himſelf.

In the mean time *Conſtantius* had taken up his Poſt, and was laying cloſe Siege to *Conſtantine*, who after a Defeat of a Party that was marching to his Relief, and a Defence for four Months, diveſted himſelf of the Purple, and retir'd into the Church, where he got himſelf to be Ordain'd a Prieſt, thinking that Character ſufficient to preſerve his Life. As ſoon as it was known to the Inhabitants, and *Conſtantius* had taken an Oth for their Indemnity, he was receiv'd into the Town, and immediately ſent away *Conſtantine* and his Son *Julian* to *Honorius*, by whoſe Order they were put to Death up- *and is put to Death.*
on the Road.

The Fate and Puniſhment of *Conſtantine* could not deter others from aiming at the like Uſurpations; for at this time *Jovinus*, a Man of great Power and Quality in *Auvergne*, uſurp'd the Imperial Title, and by the Aſſiſtance of the *Franks*, *Burgundians* and *Germans*, was preparing to make good his Pretenſions, but was overthrown by *Conſtantius*, who follow'd him ſo cloſe that he was forc'd to fly out of the Country, after *Conſtantius* had taken moſt of his Adherents and put 'em to Death. Jovinus *Uſurps in* Gaul,

After

and Heraclian *in* Africk.

After *Jovinus* follow'd *Heraclian*, who the ſame Year uſurp'd in *Africk*; he being a Man of Power, Intereſt and Authority, put *Italy* at firſt into a great Conſternation, eſpecially when by detaining the Annual Supply of Corn they began to be in great want of Proviſions. *Heraclian* had commanded the Emperor's Armies in *Africk*, had been very ſucceſsful in his Services in that Province, and was deſign'd Conſul for the enſuing Year, all which Conſiderations made his Rebellion more extraordi-

A. D. 413.

nary, and the Iſſue more doubtful: he Mann'd out a very ſtrong Fleet of Ships, and no leſs, according to *Oroſius*, than three thouſand ſeven hundred Sail therein out-doing the Naval Strength of *Xerxes* and *Alexander* the Great. With this Fleet he ſet Sail and after he had rov'd along upon the *Italian* Coaſt he landed his Men, and put *Rome* into a great Conſternation; but *Marinus*, one of the Emperor's Commanders, march'd out againſt him at the Head of the *Roman* Youth, and Veteran Troops of the Empire, which made a brave Appearance, and quite diſhearten'd the Uſurper; who, without truſting to the iſſue of an Engagement, fled in great Precipitation, and getting on Board a ſmall Chaloup, ſet Sail for *Carthage*, where he was kill'd the Year following by one of his own Soldiers.

Heraclian *kill'd.*

In the mean while *Conſtantius* was buſily employ'd in *Gaul*, which by this time was ſo far ſettled through his Induſtry and Succeſs, that of all thoſe barbarous Nations that firſt follow'd *Godegiſil* thither, none remain'd but the *Burgundians*, Natives originally of that Tract of Land that lyes between the *Oder* and the *Viſtula*, but quitting their own Country came with the reſt of the Barbarians into *Gaul*. *Conſtantius* thought fit to march againſt 'em, but they finding he was likely to prove too ſtrong for 'em, petition'd him for Peace, and

deſir'd

deſir'd they might be admitted as Friends and Allies to the *Romans*. *Conſtantius* thought it not prudent to provoke 'em too far, leſt ſome unexpected Miſcarriage ſhould ſully the Reputation of his Arms; and therefore granting their Demands, gave 'em leave to ſettle themſelves upon the Banks of the Rivers *Rodanus* or the *Rhône*, and the *Soane*, call'd by the Ancients *Araris*. After this *Conſtantius* was ſent for by the Emperor to *Rome*, where for his ſignal Services he was rewarded with the Honour of Conſul and Patrician, but had not long continu'd at *Rome* before new Commotions recall'd him abroad; for *Adolph*, King of the *Goths*, a warlike and reſtleſs People, taking his Advantage of the Wars he ſaw the *Romans* engag'd in, began to diſturb the Empire. He had brought *Attalus* with him out of *Italy*, and now perſuaded him once more to re-aſſume the Imperial Purple, and act the Emperor: *Attalus* being a Man of a fickle ambitious Temper readily embrac'd the Occaſion, and by his Patron's Aſſiſtance rais'd a very powerful Army, conſiſting of turbulent unruly People, fond of Novelty and Confuſion. Hereupon *Honorius* declar'd both him and *Adolph* Enemies to the Empire, and made *Conſtantius* his General, who was at that time eſteem'd the Emperor's Right Hand, and Buckler of the State. *Conſtantius* the more readily accepted the Service becauſe he had no great Kindneſs for the *Gothick* King, ſo that departing from *Arles* at the Head of his Army in the Beginning of the Spring he march'd up to *Narbonne*, where *Adolph* kept his Court, whom he threatned with a Siege unleſs *Attalus* was deliver'd up to him. *Placidia* adviſ'd her Husband to quit the Intereſt of the Uſurper, and comply with *Conſtantius*; but when the King could by no Perſuaſions be prevail'd upon to do it, *Conſtantius* laid Siege to the Place, and preſs'd him ſo hard that *Adolph*

A. D. 414.

Adolph *makes* Attalus *Emperor again.*

Attalus *and* Adolph *declar'd Enemies to the Empire.*

dolph ſeeing there was no poſſibility of a Relief thoug
of leaving the Town and tranſporting his *Goths* int
Africk; of which *Conſtantius* being aware he ſeiz
upon all the Gallies and other Veſſels riding near th
Coaſt, ſo that he was forc'd to alter his Meaſure
and fly, together with *Attalus*, into *Spain*, wher
he ſeiz'd upon *Barcelona*. Here ſome of the *Go*
thick Soldiers, who had no great Kindneſs for *At*
talus, laid hold ſuddenly upon him, and carry'd hi
Priſoner to *Conſtantius*, who put him in Chains an
ſent him to the Emperor, by whom he was reſerv'
to be led in Triumph at the End of the War.

Attalus *taken.*

As ſoon as the *Vandals* underſtood the *Goths* wer
ſettling themſelves in *Spain*, and like to be thei
Neighbours, they thought it their Buſineſs to pre
vent 'em before it was too late, and accordingly b
their Ambaſſadors to *Honorius* advis'd him to be a
Peace with both Parties, and leave 'em to fight i
out between themſelves, for whatever Side prevail'
he was ſure to be a Gainer; which was a Maxi
Honorius afterwards obſerv'd, to the great Eaſe an
Benefit of the Empire. In the mean time *Placidi*
had again importun'd her Husband to renew th
Peace with *Honorius*, which he could no longer re
fuſe to a Wife he lov'd ſo tenderly, and who ha
ſo great a Power over him. But the *Goths*, wh
were of a quite contrary Inclination, and though
Peace prejudicial to their Honour and their Intereſt
murder'd him and ſix of his Children, promoting
Sigerich to be King in his ſtead; who being of th
ſame Principles in a ſhort time after ſuffer'd th
ſame Fate, and was ſucceeded by *Wallia* a Man o
a more warlike Genius, whoſe firſt Attempt was t
tranſport his *Goths* into *Africk*; but being driven
back by a Tempeſt he enter'd into a Treaty with
Conſtantius, to whom he deliver'd up *Placidia*, th
Emperor's Siſter, and was to be eſteem'd a Friend

Adolph *ſlain by his own Subjects.*

and

¶

nd Allie of the *Romans*, upon Condition he made erpetual War with the *Vandals* in *Spain*. The eace being thus concluded *Conſtantius* return'd with *lacidia* to *Rome*, where by the Conſent and Encouragement of *Honorius* he was marry'd to her, to the great Satisfaction of the People, whoſe publick Rejoycings were prolong'd by the Solemnity of *Honorius* his Triumph, in the Concluſion of which *Attalus* had his Right Hand cut off, and was confin'd to the Iſle of *Lipare*.

Conſtantius *marry'd to* Placidia. A. D. 417.

During all theſe Commotions and publick Calamities, with which the Weſtern Empire had been almoſt overthrown, the Eaſt, by a particular Favour of Providence, enjoy'd a profound Peace, under the Government of *Theodoſius*, an Infant; God ſeeming in an eſpecial manner to favour him, for the Encouragement Chriſtian Piety found, not only in his own Court but almoſt throughout his Empire. Eccleſiaſtical Writers are very particular in their Commendations of this Prince, and of his Siſter *Puleheria*, who was two Years older than the Emperor, and in conſideration of her great Wiſdom, Virtue, and Piety, was created *Auguſta*, and ſhar'd with him the Imperial Power, or rather had all reſign'd up to her ſelf; for ſhe govern'd both him and the Empire with an abſolute Authority, and adminiſter'd Affairs with ſo much Prudence, that he was belov'd by his Subjects, and formidable to his Enemies. Yet could not all her Care and Circumſpection prevent frequent Feuds ariſing upon the Account of Religion, which as they begun in an ungovernable Zeal, ſo they very often ended in Blood, as it happen'd at this time in *Alexandria*, a City notoriouſly remarkable for Tumults and Seditions. Some ſlight Diſputes between the Chriſtians and the Jews, who inhabited there in great Numbers, ſo far exaſperated the latter, that they reſolv'd upon a cruel Revenge, eſpe-

A Sedition at Alexandria.

cially

cially when they found themſelves favour'd and protected by the Præfect of the City, who was at Enmity with *Cyrill*, Biſhop of the Place. They agreed among themſelves to ſet upon the Chriſtians in the Night-time, and maſſacre all they could get into their Hands: And the better to execute their Bloody Deſign, they hir'd ſome Apoſtate Chriſtians to cry out in the dead of the Night, that one of the chief Churches in the City was in Flames; whereupon the Chriſtians ran in great Confuſion out of their Houſes to extinguiſh the Fire: But the Jews, who were all arm'd, and knew each other by a certain Mark of Diſtinction which they wore for that purpoſe, kill'd all as they came out into the Streets, without any Mercy. The Biſhop, being highly provok'd at ſo great a Barbarity, went attended with multitudes of Chriſtians to the Synagogues, whilſt the Jews were aſſembled there, where infinite Numbers of 'em were murder'd, the reſt forc'd out of the City, and their Houſes plunder'd. The Præfect was ſo much offended at this, that tho' St. *Cyrill* did all he could to appeaſe and mollifie him, he never would liſten to any Accommodation. The Noiſe of this Uproar came to the Ears of the Monks living upon the neighbouring Mountains, who to the number of five hundred came down and inſulted the Præfect as he was riding in his Chariot, calling him Idolater, Heathen and Unbeliever; tho' he at the ſame time declar'd himſelf a Chriſtian, and that he had been Baptiz'd by *Atticus*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. This ſerv'd only to enrage 'em the more, inſomuch that one among 'em, call'd *Ammonius*, broke his Head with a Stone, and had almoſt kill'd him, whilſt his Attendants forſook him for fear of being murder'd, and hid themſelves in the Croud. But the People, provok'd at the outragious Inſolence of theſe Monks, fell upon 'em, and drove 'em out of

A bloody Maſſacre.

The Monks raiſe Diſturbances.

f the City, ſeizing on *Ammonius* their Ringleader, nd deliver'd him up to the Governor, who imme-iately put him to Death. This ſerv'd to widen e Breach between the Biſhop and the Præfect, hich occaſion'd great Diſorders in the City, and as fatal to *Hypatia*, the Daughter of *Theon* the Phi-ſopher, a young Lady, ſo well acquainted with all e Sects in Philoſophy, that for Learning and Quick-eſs of Apprehenſion ſhe exceeded all the Philoſo-hers of that Age; and which was a greater Orna-ent than all the reſt, ſhe was no leſs remarkable for r Modeſty, Meekneſs and Chaſtity. Theſe extra-dinary Qualifications made her Converſation court-by the Princes and great Men of the Province, t ſhe was intimate with none more than the Præ-t, which Intimacy coſt her her Life, for ſhe s accus'd as one that hinder'd an Accommodation tween the Governor and the Biſhop; whereupon eral of the People, among whom one *Peter* a Le-urer in a Church was Ringleader, forc'd her out her Coach, dragg'd her into a Church, where they pp'd her, mangled her Body, kill'd her, and then nt her to Aſhes. *This Action*, ſaith *Socrates*, *ught a great Scandal upon* Cyrill *and his Flock, be-ſo much unbecoming thoſe who make a Profeſſion Chriſtianity*: And we may likewiſe obſerve the mper of the Monks of thoſe Times. About this e *Innocent*, the Pope of *Rome*, began to aſſert his thority over other Biſhops, and to claim a Su-macy, which was as earneſtly challeng'd by his t Succeſſor *Zozimus*, nor has the Claim been pp'd ever ſince.

The Year following was remarkable for the Birth of *Valentinian* the Third, of whom *Placidia* was de-er'd at *Ravenna*; but more for a great Eclipſe of Sun, and other Accidents, that much alarm'd Minds of the People, for it was follow'd with Valentini-an III. *Born.*

ſo great a Drought, that Men and Cattle dy'd i great Numbers; after which enſu'd moſt dreadf Earthquakes, accompany'd with Fire that fell fro Heaven, which put Men into a Mortal Fear but d little Hurt, for whilſt like ſo many Waves it w overwhelming whole Countries, a ſudden and gre Wind aroſe, by which it was driven into the Se and quench'd in the Waters.

Not long after this *Honorius*, who had no Chi dren, began to think of an Aſſociate and Succeſſo who might ſhare with him in the Difficulties the State whilſt he liv'd, and be a Support to t Empire after his Death. His own Experience and t People's Vows made him caſt his Eyes upon *Conſta tius*, who was accordingly proclaim'd *Auguſtus* wi much Solemnity, and his Son *Valentinian* declar *Cæſar*. But as this was done without the Conſe or Knowledge of *Theodoſius* he never approv'd of nor would he give Audience to the Ambaſſadors ſe by *Honorius* upon that account, nor receive the P cture of *Conſtantius*, ſent, as the Cuſtom was, to plac'd with his own. This Indignity highly co cern'd *Conſtantius*, who thought his ten Years ſu ceſsful Service in the Wars againſt Uſurpers a Barbarians well deſerv'd the Honour *Honorius* h conferr'd upon him, and therefore he prepar'd force *Theodoſius* to a Recognition, and be reveng upon him for the Affront, but dy'd at *Ravenna* a Pleuriſie, occaſion'd by an immoderate Grief co tracted upon that Account. 'Tis not improbab but *Theodoſius* might be the more averſe to *Conſta tius* his Promotion becauſe he then began to thi of marrying himſelf, as he did not long after *Eudocia*, Daughter of *Leontius* the *Athenian* Phi ſopher: Her firſt Name was *Athenais*, which at h Baptiſm was chang'd, by *Atticus*, Biſhop of C *ſtantinople*, for *Eudocia*. Her Father had ſo well i ſtruct

Conſtantius *declar'd* Auguſtus, *and* Valentinian, Cæſar.

Conſtantius *dies at* Ravenna.

truſted her in Philoſophy, in the Mathematicks, e Languages and the Sciences, that ſhe equall'd if ot exceeded the greateſt Profeſſors in thoſe Times. Theſe Riches of the Mind *Leontius* thought a com-etent Fortune for his Daughter, for which reaſon e diſinherited her by his laſt Will, and left all his ſtate to her two Brothers; whereof, as ſoon as he s dead, ſhe went and complain'd to *Pulcheria*; *lcheria*, admiring her extraordinary Beauty, and e great Endowments of her Mind, perſuaded *The-oſius* to marry her; which ſhe did, as ſome have agin'd out of Policy, and Regard to her own tereſt, concluding that *Athenais*, who ow'd her dvancement entirely to her, would ſuffer her to ntinue abſolute in the Management of Publick ffairs. Theodoſius *marries.*

Theſe Occurrences happen'd not 'till after the ar was broken out between *Theodoſius* and the ing of *Perſia*, who had broken the League with e Empire, and horribly perſecuted the Chriſtians his Dominions. Whilſt *Iſdegerdes* liv'd, who, we obſerv'd before, had been appointed Tutor to e Emperor, he preſerv'd a good Underſtanding twixt the two Crowns; but his Son *Vararanes*, A. D. ho ſucceeded him, was of a different Temper, and 419. the Inſtigation of the *Magi* rais'd a bloody Perſe-tion againſt the Chriſtians throughout all his Do-inions, which was imputed in a great meaſure to e indiſcreet Zeal of a Biſhop call'd *Audas*, who nt one of the *Perſian* Temples, and when he re-'d to rebuild it, according to the Sentence pro-unc'd againſt him, the King put him to Death, d order'd all the Chriſtian Churches to be demo-h'd, and proceeded with ſuch Violence againſt the *A Perſecu-tion in* Per-ſia. ithful, that they came in great Numbers to *Con-ntinople*, where *Atticus* receiv'd 'em with much mpaſſion, and ſtirr'd up the Emperor in their

Behalf. But leſt this Provocation ſhould not be thought Grounds ſufficient for a War, the *Perſians* detain'd ſome Workmen they had hir'd out of the *Roman* Territories, who were to dig in ſome Mines of Gold they had lately diſcover'd, and were to be return'd back after they had perform'd the Work they were hir'd for; and as an Aggravation of all the reſt, they robb'd and abus'd ſeveral *Roman* Merchants that traded into their Country. The King of *Perſia* firſt began, by demanding back his Subjects, whom he had driven out of his Country in the Heat of his Perſecution: But the *Romans* were ſo far from delivering thoſe miſerable People into his Hands, that they declar'd War againſt him; and *Theodoſius* immediately rais'd an Army, conſtituting *Ardabarius* his General, who overthrew *Narſes* Commander of the *Perſian* Army, in the Province of *Azazena*, ſlew a great Multitude of his Men, and forc'd him to fly. *Narſes* thought to redeem his loſt Credit by invading the *Roman* Borders, which he hop'd to effect on the ſide of *Meſopotamia*, deſtitute at that time, and unprepar'd for a Defence. The *Roman* General was quickly ſenſible of his Motions, and therefore march'd with all ſpeed into *Meſopotamia*, fruſtrated his Deſign, and Beſieg'd him in *Niſibis*, at that time in the Hands of the *Perſians*. *Vararanes* having by this Time receiv'd Intelligence of his General's Overthrow, and the Danger his Army and the City was in, made all the haſte he could to his Relief, calling in to his Aſſiſtance *Alamundurus*, Prince of the *Saracens*, a haughty, vainglorious Man, who promis'd the King *not only to raiſe the Siege of* Niſibis, *but deliver the beautiful City of* Antioch *into his Hands*. But his Attempts were no way anſwerable to his arrogant Promiſes, nor his Succeſs to either; for a Diſſention firſt roſe among his Men, and after that a Panick Fear ſeiz'd

A War with Perſia,

ſo violently upon 'em, that flying away in great Confuſion at the very Appearance of the *Romans*, they took the River *Euphrates*, where an hundred thouſand of 'em are ſaid to have periſh'd. After which the *Romans* being inform'd the King was approaching with a great number of Elephants to relieve the Town, they rais'd the Siege, but in ſeveral Engagements which follow'd ſoon after got the Advantage, and very much weaken'd the Enemy; notwithſtanding which, *Theodoſius*, who had the Character rather of a good Prince than a great Emperor, was inclinable to Peace, and ſent his Ambaſſadors to treat with *Vararanes* accordingly; but he being reinforc'd with a freſh Supply of ten thouſand Men, who call'd themſelves *Immortals*, thought it to try his Fortune once more before he liſten'd to an Accommodation; but when he heard that all his bold *Immortals* were cut off by the *Romans*, he attended ſeriouſly to the Propoſals of Peace, which was granted to him by *Theodoſius*, upon Condition he put a ſtop to the Perſecution he had rais'd againſt the Chriſtians, and reſtor'd 'em to their Eſtates and Privileges. The Valour and Conduct of the *Roman* Generals in this War was very remarkable, but the Charity of *Acacius*, Biſhop of *Amida*, was more extroardinary. The *Romans* had in this Town above ſeven thouſand Priſoners, who muſt all have periſh'd with Hunger had not this Biſhop relieved 'em. He ſummon'd his Clergy together, and told 'em *God was not ſo much ſerv'd by the Veſſels of Gold or Silver, which the Piety of Devout Chriſtians had dedicated to the uſe of their Church, but in Actions of Charity, Brotherly Love and Munificence, and that it would be a Deed worthy their Holy Profeſſion to ſell thoſe Veſſels, and apply the Mony to the Relief of ſuch miſerable Wretches that were now ready to periſh among*

in which the Romans *have the better.*

The Charity of Acacius, *Biſhop of* Amida.

among 'em. Hereupon, by the Approbation an Conſent of all his Clergy, he melted the Plat converted it into Mony, with part of which he ra ſom'd the Captives, and diſtributed the reſt amon 'em for their Subſiſtence. The King of *Perſia* w ſo nearly affected with ſuch a tranſcendent Act Charity, that he confeſs'd *the* Romans *knew how Conquer as well by their Liberality as the Pow of their Arms*, and earneſtly deſir'd to ſee the B ſhop that had ſo highly obliged 'em. *Acacius* r ceiv'd Orders from *Theodoſius* to ſatisfie his Cu oſity, and by his Preſence encreas'd the great G pinion *Vararanes* had conceiv'd of him, who af that grew more mild and indulgent to the Ch ſtians.

A. D. 422. *A War in* Spain.

In the mean time *Honorius* obſerving how mu the *Goths* and *Vandals* had by their continual W weaken'd each other in *Spain*, thought their Di ſions gave him a fair Opportunity of recovering to the *Roman* Empire, to which purpoſe he ſe two powerful Armies thither, one by Land und the Command of *Caſtinus*, and the other by S from *Africk* under the Command of *Boniface*, w was Governor in that Country. They were, wi out Contradiction, two of the moſt experienc'd S diers *Honorius* had in all his Dominions, and the fore he join'd 'em in Commiſſion, that they mig with equal Power and Command promote his S vice in *Spain*. At firſt there appear'd an hap Underſtanding and Unanimity between 'em, wh produc'd Effects very advantageous to the Emp ror's Intereſt and their own Reputation; for th got *Jovinus* and *Maximus* into their Hands, t of the late Uſurpers, who were ſtill aiming at novations; they worſted the Barbarians in ſeve Encounters, and forc'd 'em almoſt to a Neceſ of Submiſſion; but this friendly Correſponden

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Fellowſhip and Succeſs, was interrupted by the haughty, arrogant Temper of *Caſtinus*, who valuing himſelf upon the Succeſs of his Arms, began to deſpiſe *Boniface*, and claim a Precedency over him; but the other, who would by no means be perſuaded to acknowledge him for his Superior, embark'd his Forces, and ſet Sail for *Africk*. This unſeaſonable Arrogance in *Caſtinus* prov'd very prejudicial to the Emperor's Affairs; for the *Vandals*, who by their united Forces were reduc'd to the laſt Extremity, upon this Diviſion took Courage, engag'd *Caſtinus*, defeated him, and kill'd near twenty thouſand of the *Romans*. *The Romans defeated.*

Honorius receiv'd the News of this Defeat with much Concern, but did not live to puniſh his Generals, who by their untimely Diſputes occaſion'd it. From the time of *Conſtantius* his Death, *Honorius* had entertain'd his Siſter *Placidia* with much Friendſhip and Affection, and the Communication was ſo cloſe between 'em, that it gave ground to ſeveral ſcandalous Reflections, as if their mutual Love was more than what ought to paſs between a Brother and Siſter. But this Year ſome unfortunate Differences fell out betwixt 'em, and were improv'd to that Degree, that *Placidia* with her two Children, *Valentinian* and *Honoria*, retir'd into the Eaſt, where ſhe was kindly receiv'd by her Nephew *Theodoſius*, tho' he had formerly refus'd to own *Conſtantius*, her Husband, for Emperor. *Honorius* was made to believe, by ſome about him, that his Siſter held ſecret Correſpondence with the *Goths*, who ſtill look'd upon her as their Queen, that ſhe betray'd all his Counſils to 'em, and invited his Enemies into the Empire; whether this was the Reaſon of his Diſlike, or any other Provocation he had receiv'd, he contracted ſo great an Averſion to her, that he readily gave her leave to depart, but A. D. 423.

Honorius *dies.* fell ſick preſently after, and dy'd of a Dropſie on the fifteenth of *Auguſt*, after he had liv'd thirty nine Years, of which he reign'd two with his Father, and twenty eight Years and ſeveral Months after his Deceaſe. The Hiſtorians of thoſe Times vary very much in the Character they have left us of him; for they who writ of the *Byzantine* Empire are very ſevere to his Memory, whereas thoſe who were his Contemporaries highly commend him for his Zeal and Perſeverance in the Orthodox Faith, to which they attribute his Succeſs againſt the Barbarians and Uſurpers. He ſeldom or never appear'd himſelf at the Head of his Armies but executed all by his Officers, by whom he may be ſaid to have extinguiſh'd more Rebellions than any Chriſtian Emperor whatſoever. They muſt all allow his Reign to have been very unfortunate, for in his Time *Rome* was firſt taken by the *Goths*, the *Huns* invaded *Pannonia*; the *Alans*, *Suevi*, and *Vandals* broke into *Spain*; the *Burgundians* ſettled in *Gaul*, where the *Goths* alſo fix'd themſelves at laſt. So many Enemies, with which the Empire was on all ſides aſſaulted, requir'd a Prince of more Activity upon the Throne than *Honorious*, who is accus'd by ſome of ſo ſupine a Negligence and invincible Stupidity, that when he firſt was told *Rome* was taken, he anſwer'd the Meſſengers, *'Twas very ſtrange, for he but that Moment had been playing with it*; ſuppoſing they meant a Game-Cock called *Rome*, in which he took great Delight.

His Character.

A. D. 423. II. *Honorius* left no Children behind him, nor deſign'd any for his Succeſſor at his Death. *Placidia* was abſent with her Son *Valentinian* in the Court of *Theodoſius*, ſo that the Imperial Purple ſeem'd to belong of Right to him who firſt laid hold upon it. This encourag'd one *John*, who from

John *Uſurps.*

of

obſcure Beginning was firſt made Secretary to *Honorius*, and afterwards *Præfectus Prætorio*, to take upon him the Imperial Title, being incourag'd in it by *Caſtinus*, who was now return'd out of *Spain*, and deſign'd Conſul for the Year following, whom he made General of his Armies, and *Ætius*, the Son of *Gaudentius*, a *Scythian*, who had been an Hoſtage with *Alarich* and the *Hunns*, and was now made great Maſter of the Palace by the Uſurper. His firſt Care was to remove all thoſe Magiſtrates he had reaſon to ſuſpect, and ſupply their Places with others that were more affectionate to his Cauſe; he depriv'd the Church of ſeveral Privileges it had obtain'd from the Grace and Favour of former Emperors, and ſent an Army into *Africk* to ſecure his Intereſt, and ſet up his Authority in thoſe Parts, and then diſpatch'd away his Ambaſſadors, as he would have 'em call'd, to *Theodoſius*, to deſire he would own and declare him Emperor. *Theodoſius* had before this receiv'd the News of his Uncle's Death, but thought not fit to diſcover it 'till he had ſecur'd the Borders of the Eaſtern Empire, by a ſufficient number of Troops plac'd at *Solonæ* in *Dalmatia*; and tho' he had been inform'd of *John*'s Uſurpation, he thought him a Man of no Intereſt, and did not much regard it; but when he found he had the Arrogance to ſend and make his Demands of him, he receiv'd the Meſſengers with much Indignation, and ſent 'em back with a very unwelcome Anſwer, or, as ſome ſay, baniſh'd 'em into *Propontis*. *John*, no way diſcourag'd at *Theodoſius* his Diſpleaſure, ſent *Ætius* into *Pannonia* with a great Sum of Gold to draw the *Hunns* over to his Aſſiſtance, with whoſe Commanders *Ætius* was intimate, who was farther order'd to fall upon the Rear of *Theodoſius* his Troops if they march'd into *Italy*, whilſt he himſelf charg'd 'em

in

in the Front. In the mean time *Valentinian* being declar'd *Cæſar* by *Theodoſius*, who had conferr'd the Dignity of *Auguſta* on his Mother *Placidia*, was arriv'd at *Salonæ*, attended by *Ardaburius*, who was made General of the War, and his Son *Aſpar*, where it was reſolv'd between 'em, that *Ardaburius* with part of the Forces ſhould go by Sea and beſiege *John* in *Ravenna*, and that *Aſpar*, with the reſt of the Army, ſhould convoy *Placidia* and *Valentinian* by Land thither. Hereupon the General ſet to Sea with a good Fleet, and was got juſt upon the Coaſts of *Ravenna*, where he was going to land his Men, when a violent Storm aroſe that ſcatter'd his Fleet, and drove his own Veſſel a-ſhoar, where he was taken by the Uſurper's Soldiers, and carry'd into his Preſence. *John*, who was highly elevated with a Victory that coſt him nothing, and a Purchaſe he never dream'd of, knew *Ardaburius* to be a Man of ſuch Conſequence, that he hop'd *Theodoſius* would for his ſake condeſcend to his own Terms, and admit him for his Companion in the Empire; for which reaſon he treated him very honourably, and allow'd him the Liberty of the City, which he made his Priſon. *Ardaburius* made good uſe of this Favour from the Uſurper; ſome he found at *Ravenna*, who having been diſoblig'd by him, were grown diſaffected to his Government, with whom he took Care to ingratiate himſelf; and obſerving the Negligence and Security in which the Tyrant liv'd, he ſent Intelligence of it to his Son *Aſpar*, who was by this time got to *Aquileia*, which he ſurpriz'd and fortify'd; his Father adviſ'd him to advance ſpeedily with his beſt Troops and ſeize on the City Gates, which ſtood open and unguarded; this Advice *Aſpar* executed with that Succeſs, that after a little Oppoſition he took *John*, and ſent him away to *Placidia*, who us'd him with an Inſolence

John *taken Priſoner.*

incident

incident to the Weakneſs of her Sex; for having cut off his Right Hand, ſhe ſet him upon an Aſs, and had him led in Deriſion through the Streets of *Aquileia*, after which he was Beheaded. He was a Man, according to *Procopius*, of a mild Diſpoſition, and much Temper and Moderation in all his Affairs. Three Days after he had been taken Priſoner by *Aſpar*, *Ætius* arriv'd with an Army of ſixty thouſand *Hunns*, between whom and *Aſpar* began a very obſtinate Fight, 'till being inform'd of *John*'s Captivity he thought it adviſeable to make the beſt Terms he could for himſelf. *Placidia* promis'd to receive him into Favour, upon Condition he ſent his *Hunns* home into the Country, and continu'd Obedient for the future; this he perform'd very honourably, and was afterwards ſerviceable to the Empire in a great many reſpects. After this *Valentinian* was declar'd Emperor, and *Placidia* Regent of the Empire during her Son's Minority. She began her Adminiſtration with venting her Fury upon the City of *Ravenna*, which ſhe ſuffer'd the Soldiers to pillage, and after ſhe had ſtripp'd *Caſtinus* of all his Employments, ſhe ſent him into Exile, and by this Severity forc'd him upon violent means for his own Safety and Support; ſo that inviting ſuch of the Army to him as had been lately Disbanded, or were willing to follow his Fortunes, and eſpouſe his Cauſe, he in a little time found himſelf in a Condition to begin new Diſturbances, and with a good Body of experienc'd reſolute Soldiers invaded *Africk*, out of which he hop'd he ſhould be able to drive his old Competitor *Boniface*, who notwithſtanding maintain'd his Poſt ſo well that *Caſtinus* was defeated and taken Priſoner. This piece of Service turn'd much to the Reputation of *Boniface*, and reviv'd an old Grudge *Ætius* had to him, who therefore by his cunning Inſinuation perſuaded *Placidia* that Boniface *had preſerv'd* Africk *for himſelf, rather than*

VALENTINIAN.

A. D. 426. Caſtinus *Invades Africk, and is taken Priſoner.*

than the Empire; that he watch'd an Opportunity to Revolt, and Eſtabliſh an Independent Sovereignty in thoſe Parts; that he held ſecret Correſpondence with the King of the Vandals, *having marry'd one of that Prince's Relations; that the only way to prevent him was to Abdicate his Authority there, and recal him home.* On the other ſide he writ to *Boniface*, and in his Letters pretended a great Friendſhip for him, told him *he had been ſecretly accus'd of High-Treaſon; that therefore the Empreſs intended to recal him home, but he adviſ'd him by all means to conſult his own Safety, for if once he came within the Power of the preſent Government, the Danger would be unavoidable.* Tho' *Boniface* was well aſſur'd of his own Innocence and Integrity, yet taking *Ætius* for a Man of Honour, and his faithful Friend, he refus'd to quit his Command, and began to put himſelf into a Poſture of Defence. *Placidia* was convinc'd by his Diſobedience to her Orders, that *Ætius* his Information was true, and therefore ſent *Mavortius*, *Galbio* and *Sinox* with a good Army into *Africk* to reduce him, and treat him as an Enemy to the *Roman* Empire.

Boniface being inform'd of the Forces that were marching againſt him, ſhut himſelf up in *Carthage*, where he was reſolv'd to ſtand the Shock, and held out againſt the *Romans* ſo long, 'till the three Generals diſagreed among themſelves, and *Mavortius* and *Galbio* were kill'd by the Practices of *Sinox*, whether at the Procurement of *Boniface*, or to ſatisfie his own Ambition and Revenge, is not eaſily to be determin'd; however he did not long ſurvive 'em, but was diſpatch'd ſhortly after, and left *Boniface* a Victory without the loſs of one Man on his ſide. *Placidia*, hearing of the ill Succeſs of her three Generals, grew the more enrag'd, and reſolving to renew the War, and puſh it on with more Vigour, ſhe rais'd freſh Forces, and made choice

of

of *Sigesvultes* to command 'em; whilſt *Boniface* in the mean time concluded himſelf unable alone to oppoſe the Strength of the Empire, and therefore reſolv'd to draw others into his Quarrel, and ſo applying himſelf to *Guntharius* and *Genſerich*, Kings of the *Vandals* in *Spain*, he agreed to divide *Africk* between 'em, and accordingly the two Brothers embark'd with their Forces at the *Straits* of *Gibralter*, and landed in *Africk*, where they made themſelves Maſters of the Country without any Reſiſtance, executing that Vengeance upon the miſerable Provincials, which their enormous Crimes had pull'd down upon their Heads.

The Vandals *call'd into* Africk.

Whilſt *Italy* ſtood amaz'd at ſo unexpected a Revolution, and already gave *Africk* for loſt, ſeveral of *Boniface* his Friends in *Rome* were deeply afflicted, when they beheld his Valour, with which he had often defended the Empire, was now turn'd againſt it; and wonder'd how a Man, who had given ſo many Inſtances of his Integrity, Honour and Loyalty, ſhould, without any Provocation, be thus alter'd on a ſudden, and contract a Friendſhip with the Enemies of his Country: They therefore made Application to *Placidia*, and obtain'd her Permiſſion to go into *Africk*, and at *Carthage* met with *Boniface*, who, when they charg'd him with Treaſon and Rebellion, produc'd *Ætius* his Letters, by which he convinc'd 'em that he took up Arms in his own Defence. With theſe Letters they return'd to *Placidia*, who was ſenſible of *Ætius* his Treachery, but conceal'd her Indignation for the preſent, becauſe *Ætius* was at the Head of a victorious Army in *Gaul*; where he had lately obtain'd many Advantages over the *Franks*. But to *Boniface* and his Friends ſhe expreſs'd her Reſentments; ſhe aſſur'd him by her Letters, *that ſhe deteſted the Injury had been practis'd againſt him, and that for the future he*

A. D. 428.

he might be assur'd of her Favour and Protection. She advis'd him *to apply himself diligently to the Good and Safety of the Empire, and be as zealous in his Endeavours to remove the* Vandals *out of* Africk, *as he had been to call 'em in. Boniface* readily undertook it, but found upon trial that it's easie to receive a powerful Enemy into a Country, but very difficult and often impossible to drive 'em out on't. He first attempted to remove 'em by the Promise of an immense Sum of Mony; when he found 'em deaf to that, he represented to 'em the Strength and Power of the *Roman* Empire; told 'em *it was to be fear'd* Theodosius *and* Valentinian *would unite their Arms, and send such puissant Forces against 'em, as they would find it impossible for 'em to resist:* But *Gunderich*, for his Brother was lately dead, was not to be mov'd either by his Threats or Promises. He is describ'd, by the Writers of those Times, as a warlike Prince, of a low Stature, but Ambitious, capable of great Designs, wary in Contrivance, and vigorous in Execution; a Man of few Words, but weighty Sense; very expert at sowing Divisions among those he desir'd to weaken, and watchful upon all Opportunities, which he always husbanded to the best Advantage. *Boniface* perceiving he was not to be mov'd by fair means join'd with *Aspar*, who was lately arriv'd with a gallant Army out of *Italy*, and gave him Battel; in which the *Romans* were beaten, and great Numbers of 'em taken Prisoners, among whom was *Martian*, who was afterwards Emperor.

A.D. 430. *The* Vandals *conquer* Africk.

Genserich, meeting nothing to oppose him after this Victory in *Mauritania*, proceeded up into *Numidia*, and the rest of *Africk*, destroying all the Country as he pass'd, and like an irresistible Flame devouring all before him; whilst *Boniface*, who had not Forces sufficient to make head against him, retir'd

tir'd into the fortify'd Towns with thoſe Troops that were able to join him. There were but three of theſe Towns that were not expos'd to the Fury of the Enemy, thoſe were *Carthage*, *Hippo*, and *Cirtha*, all of 'em built upon the Sea, and well provided. Towards the latter end of the Year *Genſerich* came with his Army and ſate down before *Hippo*; *Boniface* had juſt before thrown himſelf into it with a good Body of Men, and made a very courageous Defence: But the King being reſolv'd to take it puſh'd on the Siege with great Vigour, and block'd it up both by Sea and Land. The Siege continu'd for fourteen Months together, and was manag'd with great Obſtinacy on both ſides; but at length, after the Garriſon had been quite ſpent with the Heat of the Service, and deſpair'd of any Relief, the Place was deliver'd up to the Mercy of the Barbarians, who put all they found to the Sword, pillag'd the Town, and deſtroy'd every thing of Value in it, except St. *Auſtin*'s Library, who dy'd a Month before the Town was taken. Hippo *taken.*

After the Loſs of this Town the *Vandals* grew more outrageous than ever, committing ſuch barbarous Cruelties where-ever they mov'd as ſurpaſs'd Imagination.

Theodoſius had ſome time before ſent *Aſpar* at the Head of a very powerful Army, to aſſiſt *Valentinian* in *Africk*; he was now join'd by *Boniface*, and with the united Forces both of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empire endeavour'd to put an end to the Depredations of the victorious Barbarian; who fought and entirely defeated him, kill'd the very Flower of his Army, and forc'd the reſt to fly for their Safety up and down the Country. *Aſpar* with much ado return'd to *Conſtantinople*, and *Boniface* upon *Placidia*'s Invitation embark'd for *Italy*; where he challeng'd *Ætius*, fought him, and overcame him, A. D. 433.

but

but dy'd three Months after, and enjoin'd his Wife *Pelagia* upon his Death-Bed *never to marry any other Man but* Ætius: Who, after his Overthrow, was for ſome time aſham'd to appear at Court, and therefore retir'd into *Pannonia*, where he became more familiar with the *Hunns*, and by degrees rais'd himſelf up to his former Reputation, being ſhortly after employ'd by *Valentinian* againſt the *Burgundians*, who had paſs'd their Bounds and invaded *Gallia Belgica*, waſting the Country with Fire and Sword, till *Ætius* appear'd againſt 'em, and with his uſual Courage and Succeſs overthrew, and forc'd 'em to return home.

A War with Perſia *concluded by a ſingle Combat.*

About this time a new War had like to have broken out between *Perſia* and the Empire; for *Theodoſius* obſerving the *Perſians* crouded the Frontiers of the Empire with great Numbers of Troops, ſent *Bocopius* againſt 'em with a very ſtrong Army. *Vararanes* finding himſelf too weak to give 'em Battel, propos'd to decide the Difference by a ſingle Combat between two Champions choſen reſpectively out of each Party; and that that Side whoſe Champion was vanquiſh'd ſhould pay Tribute to the other. *Theodoſius* is ſaid to have accepted of the Propoſal, and made choice of *Arcobinda* or *Areovindus* for his Champion, who overcame the *Perſian*, and was rewarded with the Conſulſhip the Year following; and a Peace was concluded betwixt the *Romans* and the *Perſians*, which was to laſt for fifty Years.

A. D. 434.

Some time after this a private Misfortune much afflict d the Court at *Ravenna*, where *Honoria*, Siſter to the Emperor *Valentinian*, had ſtolen a great Belly. She firſt ſent to *Attila*, King of the *Hunns*, and offer'd to marry him if he approv'd of the Match; but receiving no Anſwer agreeable to her Wiſhes, ſhe proſtituted her ſelf to the Luſt of one *Eugenius*, Steward of her Houſhold, with whom ſhe

he plotted againſt her Brother's Life and Dignity. The thing being diſcover'd ſhe was only ſent away to *Conſtantinople*, there to be cenſur'd as *Theodoſius* ſhould think fit.

Whilſt the Empire was thus afflicted by the cruel inſults of the Barbarians, the Church was no leſs aſſaulted by the Riſe and Propagation of moſt damnable Hereſies; it being obſervable, that Errors both in Doctrine and Diſcipline are never ſo fruitful, as in times of publick Calamities. *Neſtorius* was at this time Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, to which he had been advanc'd by *Theodoſius*, having been before a Prieſt at *Antioch*, where he had gain'd much Reputation for his Eloquence, Doctrine and Piety; but was naturally of a haughty ſeditious Temper, as he made it appear to the World after his Promotion. Tho' at firſt he proſecuted the *Arian* and *Novatian* Hereticks with ſo much Zeal, that *Conſtantinople* was almoſt in an Uproar, yet he ſhortly after publiſh'd his own pernicious Tenets, which created much Trouble in the Church, infected great Multitudes of People, and continues at this Day in a great meaſure throughout the Eaſt. He held *that it was not lawful to call the Virgin* Mary *the Mother of God, who could not be born; but the Mother of Jeſus Chriſt, who for his Birth obtain'd, by vertue of his good Works, to be united to the Word, not by an Hypoſtatick or Perſonal Union, but by a Reſidential Union of the Word in the Humanity, as in a Temple*; ſo that it was no more than a communicative or moral Society. By this Doctrine he did not only aſſert two Natures in Jeſus Chriſt, but two Perſons, the Divine and Human, and ſo deſtroy'd the Myſtery of the Incarnation. He did not at firſt venture to publiſh the Errors himſelf, but made *Anaſtaſius*, a Prieſt he had brought with him from *Antioch*, broach

Neſtorius, *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople.

his Hereſie.

'em to the People, who were aſtoniſh'd at his blaſphemous Impieties. *Neſtorius*, inſtead of condemning ſuch pernicious Doctrines, as the Duty of his Office requir'd him, boldly aſſerted and maintain'd 'em; openly denying to the Virgin *Mary* the Title of *The Mother of God*; and procur'd one *Dorotheus*, who had been lately depos'd from the See of *Marcianople*, to Anathematize from the Pulpit all thoſe who preſum'd to give her that Honour. The Errors, which *Neſtorius* defended with much Obſtinacy, caus'd *Celeſtin* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, to ſummon a Synod each in his Diocеſs, where they were univerſally condemn'd, and *Neſtorius* depos'd, if within ten Days after the Signification of that Act of their reſpective Synods he did not recant and diſavow his Hereſie; but he was ſo far from a Recantation, that by his Artifices he rais'd Diviſions among the Orthodox Biſhops themſelves, and ſo far impos'd upon the Emperor *Theodoſius* that he eſpous'd his Intereſt, and reprov'd *Cyrill* as one that by his Calumnies diſturb'd the Unity of the Church. Theſe Practices made the Breach wider, and the Schiſm irreparable, without the Intervention of a General Council, which therefore *Theodoſius* ſummon'd to meet at *Epheſus*, where, inſtead of the Biſhop of *Rome*, *the Holy Scriptures* were plac'd in an eminent Throne, as a Guide to the future Controverſies; as appears from the firſt Act of the Council, and *Cyrill*'s Apology to *Theodoſius*. *Neſtorius* was cited to appear at the firſt Seſſion, and upon his Non-Appearance depos'd; the Sentence of his Depoſition, ſign'd by above two hundred Biſhops, was ſent to him, and publiſh'd in the City to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the People. And the Day following St. *Cyrill* in a Sermon gave the Virgin *Mary* ſuch Elogies, which tho' they were drawn from the concurring Senſe of the Scrip-

The Third General Council at Epheſus.

¶

ptures, and ſavour'd nothing of the Extravagances they at preſent throw upon her, yet did they make the Church from that time forward honour her with a greater Zeal that it had ever done before.

Five Days after the Condemnation of *Neſtorius*, *John*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, arriv'd at *Epheſus* with thoſe of his Party, and being offended at what the Council had done without his Preſence and Conſent, he united himſelf with about thirty others, ſome of whom had been depos'd for their Crimes, and others were known openly to eſpouſe the Errors of *Pelagius*. Theſe Prelates aſſembled at his Lodgings, and calling themſelves a Synod or Council, depos'd *Cyrill*, and *Memnon* of *Epheſus*, and pronounc'd a Sentence of Excommunication againſt all the Biſhops of the lawful Council, unleſs they reſtor'd the *Pelagians* who had been depos'd; and declar'd with them, that Adam's *Soul did not die for his Offence, and that Original Sin was not tranſmitted from Father to Son.* The Emperor at the beginning of the Council had appointed *Candidian*, Maſter of his Houſhold, to appear there on his Behalf, and by his Authority to prevent any Diſorders, whereby the Fathers might be moleſted. *Candidian* had implicity eſpous'd the Paſſion and Intereſt of *Neſtorius*, and therefore intercepted the Couriers that had been deputed to *Theodoſius* with the Proceedings of the Council, and Letters from the Fathers, and at the ſame time inform'd the Emperor that Matters were handled with much Heat in the Aſſembly, and that they had proceeded againſt *Neſtorius* with too much Precipitation: But he permitted the Anti-Council from time to time to tranſmit their Decrees to the Emperor; to accuſe *Cyrill* and others of Hereſie, and the Spirit of Revenge; and condemn every thing the Fathers had done: Whoſe Silence in the Matter

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ptures, and ſavour'd nothing of the Extravagances they at preſent throw upon her, yet did they make the Church from that time forward honour her with a greater Zeal that it had ever done before.

Five Days after the Condemnation of *Neſtorius*, *John*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, arriv'd at *Epheſus* with thoſe of his Party, and being offended at what the Council had done without his Preſence and Conſent, he united himſelf with about thirty others, ſome of whom had been depos'd for their Crimes, and others were known openly to eſpouſe the Errors of *Pelagius*. Theſe Prelates aſſembled at his Lodgings, and calling themſelves a Synod or Council, depos'd *Cyrill*, and *Memnon* of *Epheſus*, and pronounc'd a Sentence of Excommunication againſt all the Biſhops of the lawful Council, unleſs they reſtor'd the *Pelagians* who had been depos'd; and declar'd with them, that Adam's *Soul did not die for his Offence, and that Original Sin was not tranſmitted from Father to Son*. The Emperor at the beginning of the Council had appointed *Candidian*, Maſter of his Houſhold, to appear there on his Behalf, and by his Authority to prevent any Diſorders, whereby the Fathers might be moleſted. *Candidian* had implicity eſpous'd the Paſſion and Intereſt of *Neſtorius*, and therefore intercepted the Couriers that had been deputed to *Theodoſius* with the Proceedings of the Council, and Letters from the Fathers, and at the ſame time inform'd the Emperor that Matters were handled with much Heat in the Aſſembly, and that they had proceeded againſt *Neſtorius* with too much Precipitation: But he permitted the Anti-Council from time to time to tranſmit their Decrees to the Emperor; to accuſe *Cyrill* and others of Hereſie, and the Spirit of Revenge; and condemn every thing the Fathers had done: Whoſe Silence in the Matter

the Emperor interpreted as a Confeſſion of the Fact, and ſo gave Orders for the Impriſonment of St. *Cyrill* and *Memnon*; who were not releas'd 'till the Emperor ſome time after had been inform'd of the Truth in each particular; and then he diſſolv'd the Council, ſet the two Biſhops at liberty, and confirmed the Condemnation of *Neſtorius*. But whereas the Fathers had proceeded to depoſe *John* and his Adherents, the Emperor thought fit to ſuſpend the Ratification, for fear of exaſperating thoſe turbulent Spirits, and making 'em more averſe to an Union; which they were ſo far from embracing, that they proteſted they had rather die a thouſand times than partake of *Cyrill*'s Communion, or his Doctrine. As for *Neſtorius*, the Emperor permitted him to retire to his Monaſtery, that he might have the better Opportunity to acknowledge his Errors, and abjure 'em: But he was ſo far from acknowledging the Grace of *Theodoſius* towards him, that he perſiſted to poiſon the World with his Hereſie, both in his Diſcourſes and his Writings; for which Reaſon he was baniſh'd four Years after into *Oaſis*, where, after his Tongue had been eaten out with Worms, he dy'd a miſerable Death; but in his Life-time rais'd a ſpiritual War againſt the Church, which has been continu'd to this very Day.

The Wars all this while were continu'd in *Gaul* and *Africk* with various Succeſs, the *Burgundians* had for ſome Years been oppoſing the *Roman* Arms and put the Empire to a vaſt Expence; nothing but the Conduct and Reſolution of ſuch a General as *Ætius* was able to hinder 'em from breaking farther into the Empire, and involving the State in new Difficulties. This Year he obtain'd ſo many Advantages over 'em, that *Gundicarius* their King was forc'd to liſted to Reaſon, and agree to a Peace very honourable and advantageous to the *Romans*.

A. D. 435.

A Peace in Gaul *and* Africk.

the ſame time *Trigetius*, who had been ſent to ſucceed *Boniface* in *Africk*, forc'd *Genſerich*, King of the *Vandals*, to condeſcend to a Peace, upon Condition the *Romans* reſign'd up to him that Part of *Africk* that lyes round *Hippo*, which was accordingly deliver'd up to 'em, and prov'd in Conſequence highly prejudicial to the Empire. The Joy the People conceiv'd at theſe two Agreements was improv'd at *Rome*, where *Valentinian* celebrated his *Decennalia*, and publick Vows were made for the Continuance of his Reign, which were reaſonably thought to have more of Form than Subſtance in 'em, he behaving himſelf already like a looſe, diſſolute Prince, regardleſs of the State, and abandon'd to his Pleaſures.

Peace being thus concluded between the *Vandals* and *Burgundians*, the Empire ſeem'd to breath a little after the long Fatigues of War, and to put on a Face of Gaiety; for tho' *Theodorick*, King of the *Goths*, had, contrary to his Agreement with the *Romans*, broken out lately in *Gaul*, yet *Littorius*, with a Body of *Hunns*, watch'd him ſo narrowly that the Miſchief he did at preſent was inconſiderable, and his Attempts carry'd more of the Name of War with 'em than the Inconveniences of it, ſo that *Valentinian* had time to liſten to the Advice of thoſe who perſuaded him to Marry *Eudoxia*, and for that purpoſe demanded her by his Ambaſſadors of her Father *Theodoſius*, who inclin'd willingly to the Propoſal, and *Valentinian* himſelf went to fetch her from *Conſtantinople*, but was hardly return'd back to *Ravenna* before new Commotions interrupted the Solemnity of his Nuptials. For *Littorius*, who had hitherto commanded with much Succeſs againſt the *Goths*, preſum'd too much upon his good Fortune, and out of Emulation to *Ætius* was ſo far tranſported as to Beſiege *Tholouſe*, the Capital of the *Goths*, *New Troubles in Gaul.*

promiſing to himſelf, if he could once be Maſter of that Place, he ſhould be able with eaſe to drive the *Goths* out of the Country. *Theodorick* was at firſt ſo much frighten'd, that he ſent ſome Biſhops out to him with Offers of a Peace; but he truſting to the Promiſes and Encouragement he receiv'd from his Pagan Idols, would liſten to no Terms of Accommodation, but gave the *Goths* Battel, who fighting like Men in Deſpair, not only defeated his Army, and kill'd a great many of his Men, but took him Priſoner, and led him bound into that City as a Slave, where he not long before threaten'd to enter as a Conqueror, and where, by *Theodorick*'s Command, he was put to an ignominious Death. The *Goths* after this Defeat ravag'd up and down the Country without Controul, and *Theodorick* advanc'd with his Army as far as the *Rhône*, thinking he had now an Opportunity to enlarge his Dominions. But *Valentinian*, as ſoon as he was inform'd of the Loſs both of his General and his Army, diſpatch'd *Ætius* with all Expedition into *Gaul*, whoſe very Name was grown ſo terrible to the *Goths*, that without daring to appear in the Field againſt him they earneſtly deſir'd a Peace, which was granted 'em upon the Mediation of *Avitus*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of thoſe Parts, and kept the *Goths* in tolerable good Order for ſome Years after.

A. D. 439. *A new War in* Africk.

But whilſt *Ætius* was employ'd in quenching the Flame in *Gaul*, a greater broke out in *Africk*, which prov'd of more weighty Conſequence to the Empire. *Genſerich*, who had concluded a Peace with the *Romans* about four Years before, thought himſelf oblig'd to obſerve it no longer than it appear'd advantageous to his Intereſt, and ſerv'd to ſtrengthen and confirm his Pretenſions in *Africk*; ſo that not content with the Conqueſt he had already made, nor the vaſt Provinces that were

in

in his Poſſeſſion, he broke the Peace to which he had lately ſworn, and after having rag'd with all imaginable Liberty throughout the Country, he ſet upon *Carthage*, which he well knew was weakly Garriſon'd, and took it on the 20th of *October*, before the Emperor could be inform'd of the Danger the City was in. He threw the Senators into Chains, and commanded the Inhabitants, upon Pain of Death, to diſcover to him all their Gold, their Silver, Jewels, and moſt valuable Moveables, and ſo made himſelf Maſter of the Riches of that wealthy City; from thence he paſs'd with a powerful Fleet into *Sicily*, where, meeting with little or no Reſiſtance, he behav'd himſelf with his uſual Barbarity. Among his many other Severities, which he exercis'd without any Remorſe upon the Orthodox Clergy, this was one which carry'd not the leaſt Terror with it. He forc'd *Quod-Vult-Deus*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, and a great part of his Clergy, to be put naked on Board ſeveral leaky Veſſels prepar'd for that purpoſe, and in that helpleſs Condition to be thruſt out to Sea, where, after they had for a long time been toſs'd up and down by the violence of the Waves, to their great Conſternation, and certain hazard of their Lives, they were all driven ſafe to ſhoar near *Naples* in *Campania*. He left *Sicily* ſooner than he intended, upon an Information that *Sebaſtian*, Son of the late General *Boniface*, was arriv'd in *Africk* with a very ſtrong Army; this brought him back with all ſpeed to *Carthage*, for fear the *Romans* ſhould in his Abſence recover that City out of his Hands. But *Sebaſtian*, inſtead of behaving himſelf like a *Roman* General, and purſuing *Genſerich* as an Enemy to the Empire, ſate down idly in the Province, and enter'd into Terms of Accommodation with him. Hereupon *Genſerich*, who deſir'd to bind him firmer to his Intereſt,

reſt, endeavour'd by his Perſuaſions to make him turn *Arian*, which when he could by no means be prevail'd upon to do, he procur'd him to be murder'd, either out of an Averſion he had to the Orthodox Faith, or becauſe he knew *Sebaſtian* was an experienc'd Commander, and was afraid he intended to circumvent him. This inſolent Demeanour in the King of the *Vandals* highly provok'd *Theodoſius*, who thought it time to provide againſt ſo prevailing an Enemy, and therefore Mann'd out a Fleet of ſixty Sail, on Board of which he order'd a good Army to embark, and committed it to the Conduct of *Areobindas*, and two others, who were Commiſſion'd to land in *Africk*, and by all poſſible means endeavour to drive *Genſerich* out of it. Theſe Generals inſtead of following their Orders waſted much of their time in *Sicily*, and then croſſing over into *Africk*, carry'd more Terror than Execution along with 'em; for without performing any thing of Moment they return'd back into *Sicily*. However their Expedition had this good Effect, that *Genſerich* perceiving what Power *Theodoſius* had, which at another time might be better manag'd, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople* to treat about a Peace, which *Theodoſius* was forc'd to conclude the Year following, for Reaſons that made that Year famous to Poſterity.

A. D. 442. *The* Hunns *Invade the Empire.*

The *Hunns*, who had formerly driven the *Alani*, *Goths* and *Vandals* out of their ancient Seats, and forc'd 'em to paſs over the *Rhine* and *Iſter* into the *Roman* Territories, began now to follow 'em; and taking the Advantage of the Wars in which the *Romans* were engag'd with their Neighbours, eſpecially the *Vandals* in *Africk*, muſter'd all the Forces they could raiſe among the Inhabitants on the other ſide the *Euxine*, and with an Army, terribly prodigious for its Numbers, fell upon the Frontiers of the Em-

Empire, where they ſeiz'd on the Forts and Garriſons built formerly upon the Banks of the *Iſter* for the Defence of it. Here the Army was divided into two Bodies, with one of which *Attila* their King invaded *Myſia*, and with the other his Brother *Bleda* fell upon *Thrace*, where, bearing down all Oppoſition before 'em, they rag'd in all Places with Fire and Sword, they took and ſurpriz'd many Cities, and among the reſt *Naiſſus* and *Singidunum*, two Cities of *Myſia Prima*.

Theodoſius was too ſenſible of the ill Conſequence of ſuch Irruptions, eſpecially at a time when the Empire was ſo much weaken'd already, not to think of ſome timely Reſiſtance, and ſtop 'em, if poſſible, in their firſt Motions; whereupon he ſent two of his Generals, *Arnegiſtus* and *Joannes*, with a ſtrong Army againſt 'em. *Arnegiſtus* engag'd *Attila* near *Marcianople*, at the ſame time that *Joannes* fought *Bleda* in *Thrace*; and they both met with ſuch Succeſs that the Barbarians were worſted, and ſeem'd at firſt more deſirous of returning than capable of proceeding forward; but the Fate of the Empire began now to preſs hard upon it, and its Ruin ſeem'd inevitable; for the two Generals, inſtead of purſuing the publick Intereſt, fell into private Quarrels between themſelves, in which *Joannes* was kill'd by the Fraud of his jealous Antagoniſt.

The *Hunns* taking the Advantage of theſe untimely Diſſentions purſu'd their Conqueſts, and ſeiz'd upon all the Cities in *Thrace*, except *Adrianople*; they enter'd into *Macedonia*, *Greece* and *Illyricum*, in all which Places they did ſuch horrible Miſchiefs as they never felt before. Being not only ſworn Enemies to Chriſtianity, but even to Civility, and the Knowledge of the true God; they exceeded the *Goths* and *Vandals* in their barbarous Cruelties, and when ever the *Romans* had the

the Courage to face 'em, they ſeem'd rather to harden and provoke, than repel and diſtreſs 'em. This reduc'd *Theodoſius* to the laſt extremity, and tho' he had formerly reſolv'd never to let *Genſerich* poſſeſs a Foot in *Africk*, but my main Force to drive him out, yet being now preſs'd by a nearer Calamity, and unable to contend with two Enemies at once, he was perſuaded to liſten to the Overtures made by the *Vandals*, and granted 'em better Terms than they could otherwiſe have deſir'd or expected. For *Genſerich*'s Affairs at home were in great Confuſion; his inſufferable Inſolence, which he had contracted from the long Courſe of his Succeſs, had ſo incens'd his Subjects, that they conſpir'd againſt him, and when his Vigilance had diſcover'd and prevented the Plot, he us'd both the Innocent and Guilty with ſo much bloody Severity, that he could not have been more weaken'd by a Defeat in Battel. Theſe Domeſtick Diſaſters made him ſollicit a Peace both at *Conſtantinople* and *Ravenna*, which *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius*, for the Reaſons above-mention'd, readily granted. The Emperors, more for State than any other Conſideration, reſerv'd ſome ruin'd Provinces to themſelves, and left the *Vandals* the quiet Poſſeſſion of the reſt of *Africk*, upon Condition he paid a Tribute to the Emperor for three Years together, and deliver'd his Son *Honoric* up to *Valentian* as a Pledge and Aſſurance of his Faith, which he had ſo often violated.

Peace with the Vandals.

III. The Peace being concluded, *Theodoſius* recall'd his Army out of *Sicily*, to be employ'd under the Conduct of *Areobindas* and *Aſpar* againſt the *Hunns*, who were now got ſo far into the Country that all Oppoſition ſeem'd to come too late; ſo that *Theodoſius* was forc'd, to the great Prejudice of his Repu-

Reputation, to try the Power of his Gold, when he found the Force of his Steel ineffectual. He sent his Ambassadors to *Attila* to treat about a Peace, which he offer'd to purchase at the Price of six thousand Pounds of Gold to be paid in Hand, and an Annual Pension of five hundred, or as some say, a thousand more, provided he would instantly retreat, and confine himself and his Subjects within his own Bounds. The Proposals seem'd so fair that *Attila* found no reason to reject 'em, so that upon Payment of the Mony he prepar'd to be gone, enrich'd not only with so vast a Sum, but infinite other Treasure, and an hundred and twenty thousand Captives, leaving *Illyricum* in a much worse Condition than ever it had felt before, tho' frequently subject to such Calamities; as an Aggravation to which, so dreadful a Snow fell this Year, and lay so long on the barren Ground, which the Barbarians had burnt up and wasted, that not only great quantities of Cattle, but multitudes of Men, Women and Children perish'd for want of the Conveniences of Habitations and Fuel, of which the Savage *Hunns* had depriv'd 'em; at the same time happen'd an Earthquake at *Rome*, which overthrew several Buildings both publick and private. These Accidents were look'd on as prodigious, and seem'd to forerun that mighty Storm, which, tho' quell'd for the present, broke in shortly after, and like an Hurricane tore up both the Eastern and Western Provinces.

A. D. 443. Theodosius *buys a Peace of the* Hunns.

In this Interval *Theodosius*, as if he foresaw the ensuing Calamities, reinforc'd and fortify'd the Borders, and by several Acts of State and publick Edicts put himself into the best Condition of Defence his Affairs would admit of; for at present the Empire enjoy'd a Tranquility both in the Eastern and Western Provinces, greater than any it had

had known for a long time before; it look'd like a Calm preſaging the Tempeſt that was to follow; for except ſome Motions of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*, who were eaſily reduc'd by *Ætius*, we hear of nothing that diſturb'd the publick Peace, 'till it was broken again by *Attila*. However *Theodoſius* met with ſome Diſturbances in his private Family, that gave him as much trouble almoſt as a War would have done; his Siſter *Pulcheria* had hitherto aſſiſted him at the Helm of State, and by her Care, Vigilance and Sagacity eas'd the Burden of the Empire, that would otherwiſe have lain heavy upon his Shoulder. *Chryſaphius* the Eunuch, and great Favourite of the Emperor, was highly diſpleas'd with *Flavianus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and very deſirous to have him remov'd, but knew all his Attempts would be ineffectual whilſt *Pulcheria* continu'd in Power, whom therefore he labour'd to involve in ſome Difficulties; accordingly he endeavour'd to raiſe a Jealouſie and Emulation between her and the Empreſs *Eudocia*, whom he perſuaded to remove from *Pulcheria* the Steward of her Houſhold, who manag'd all her Concerns; this *Eudocia* try'd all means with her Husband to effect, but *Theodoſius* was reſolv'd againſt it, nor would he ſo far diſoblige his Siſter, to whoſe prudent Management he was ſo much indebted. But at length ſhe prevail'd ſo far that the Emperor requir'd *Flavianus* to make her a Deaconeſs; for as they often in thoſe Parts drew great Men by force to Biſhopricks, ſo the Biſhops themſelves very often made choice of Ladies of more exalted Virtue and Honour than the reſt of their Sex, and by force ordain'd 'em Deaconeſſes of the Church. *Flavianus* knew not how to diſobey the Emperor's Order, but admoniſh d *Pulcheria* of it, and adviſed her to avoid him, leſt he ſhould be forc'd againſt his

Plucheria *remov'd from Court.*

his Will upon a very ungrateful Office. *Pulcheria* was no ſooner inform'd of it, but ſhe voluntarily re-tir'd from the Adminiſtration, and led a private Life in the Country. From this we may form a lively Image of Court Intrigues, where it's very often the Buſineſs of one Courtier to ſupplant another, be-cauſe he thinks he is in a better Poſt than himſelf. They who are deſirous to abſolve *Eudocia* from the Sin of Ingratitude to *Pulcheria*, to whom ſhe ow'd her Greatneſs, give another Reaſon for the Emperor's Diſpleaſure, and affirm *Pulcheria* ow'd her Diſgrace to none but her ſelf. They tell us, that upon Obſervation of the Emperor's Eaſineſs in ſigning whatever Papers were offer'd him, without ever examining the Contents of 'em, ſhe thought to convince him of his Folly, by repreſenting to him how dangerous it might one Day prove in the Conſequence; ſhe one Day preſented him with a Pa-per in which he ſold his Wife as a Slave to *Pulche-ria*, which he ſign'd, as uſual, without ever reading the Subſtance of it: Some time after ſhe detain'd *Eu-docia* as ſhe came to viſit her, and when the Empe-ror himſelf came to demand her, ſhe told him that *he having bought her of him he had no Right in her*, and thereupon produc'd the Contract. *Theo-doſius* was ſo diſtaſted at this home Reproof, that, like other Princes who are fond of Flattery but a-verſe to Reprehenſion, he ever after that entertain'd a Prejudice to her, which it's more than probable his Wife took care to aggravate, the better to re-ingra-tiate her ſelf with him; for ſhe had lately been in Diſgrace, and that upon an Occaſion which may ſerve to ſhow us how cautious Perſons in an high Sphere ought to move. Some Perſon had preſented *Theodoſius* with a Fruit, admirable for its Largeneſs and Beauty; this he ſent as a Rarity to *Eudocia*, who made a Preſent of it to *Paulinus*, with whom ſhe

ſhe was ſo intimately acquainted upon the Accou
of his great Learning, that her Familiarity with hi
gave occaſion to ſome ſcandalous Reflections. H
ignorant from whence the Empreſs had receiv'd i
carry'd it to *Theodoſius* as a thing new and ſingula
and *Theodoſius* preſently after ask'd his Wife wh
was become of it; ſhe, for fear of diſpleaſing hin
anſwer'd ſhe had eaten it, whereupon *Theodoſius* pr
Eudocia, *the Empreſs, in Diſgrace.* ducing the Fruit convicted her of Falſhood, o
der'd *Paulinus* to be put to Death, and for ſome tim
was alienated in his Mind from the Empreſs.

Pulcheria being remov'd from the Adminiſtratio
Chryſaphius thought he might now with eaſe wor
Flavian's Ruin, and was ſhortly after preſented wit
a fair Opportunity of effecting it. *Eutyches*, an A
bot of a Monaſtery in *Conſtantinople*, had very vigo
rouſly oppos'd *Neſtorius* his Hereſie, but as it ofte
happens in the like Caſes, fell out of one Extrea
into another: For whereas *Neſtorius* deny'd the H
poſtatick Union in Jeſus Chriſt, *Eutyches* deny'd th
Diſtinction of the two Natures, confounding th
one in the other. This Doctrine was immediate
condemn'd in a Synod at *Conſtantinople*, where *Eut
ches* was ſummon'd to appear, but refus'd to ſtir ou
of his Monaſtery; tho' he preſently after apply
himſelf to *Chryſaphius*, whoſe Relation he was, an
who was now the great Favourite of *Theodoſiu
Chryſaphius* perſuaded the Emperor to ſummon th
ſecond Council of *Epheſus*, where by the Activit
of *Dioſcorus*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, the *Eutychia
Hereſie was approv'd, and *Flavian*, by whoſe mean
it had been condemn'd in the Synod, was not only de
pos'd but moſt barbarouſly abus'd at *Epheſus*, and ba
niſh'd into *Lydia*, where he dy'd of his Wounds in
ſhort time after, and is commemorated as one of th
Martyrs of the *Greek* Church. This Violence and In
juſtice againſt *Flavian* demonſtrates to us the Cor
ruption

ruption of the Biſhops that compos'd that Council, and that the Ancients upon good Grounds call'd it *an Aſſembly of Thieves.*

Attila, who had hitherto obſerv'd the Peace concluded with the Empire, did now again declare War againſt *Theodoſius*, becauſe the Tribute he was to have receiv'd by the Articles of Peace had not been punctually paid him; and taking the Advantage of a great Froſt, which had frozen up the *Danube*, he paſs'd his Army over, and waſted *Pannonia* and *Illyricum*. *Theodoſius* ſent *Anthemius* and *Arnegiſtus* to oppoſe him, who did great Service to the Empire; eſpecially *Anthemius*, who was afterwards Emperor of the Weſt, finding the Barbarians diſpers'd up and down the Country, and intent upon the Pillage, he ſet upon 'em at ſeveral times, deſtroy'd a great number of them, and conſtrain'd the reſt to unite themſelves into one Body near *Sardica*, where he gave 'em Battel; and tho' *Arnegiſtus* at the beginning of the Engagement abandon'd his Collegue and deſerted to the Enemy, yet he got an entire Victory, and oblig'd 'em to ſue for a Peace, which he granted upon Condition they hung up the Traitor *Arnegiſtus*, who accordingly fell a Sacrifice to Juſtice, and the Peace was ratify'd both by *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*. Some time after this the Weſtern Empire ſuffer'd a great Loſs in the Death of *Galla Placidia*, *Valentinian*'s Mother, a Princeſs of great Prudence, who had been toſs'd to and fro in the World, and run through ſeveral Changes of Fortune. She had the chief Management in the Affairs of State, not only during her Son's Minority, but afterwards when he arriv'd to a Ripeneſs of Years; for he was of himſelf an effeminate voluptuous Prince, reſigning himſelf up entirely to the Government of thoſe that were near his Perſon: His Mother, whilſt ſhe liv'd, reſtrain'd him in a great meaſure by her Authority

A. D. 447.

Placidia *dies.*

thority and good Counſel; but as ſoon as ſhe was dead the Depravity of his Nature appear'd viſible to the World, who thereby grew ſenſible how beneficial *Placidia* had been to the Empire. And as *Valentinian* was miſ-led by Paraſites and evil Counſellors in the Weſt, ſo was *Theodoſius* abus'd by the Artifices of his Favourite *Chryſaphius* in the Eaſt, where he rul'd with an unlimited Authority, tyrannizing in a particular manner over the Clergy.

Pulcheria *returns again to Court.*

His villainous Practices provoked *Pulcheria* to quit her Solitude and return again to Court, where ſhe made it appear to *Theodoſius*, that *Eutyches* was an infamous Heretick; that *Chryſaphius* had ſupported him out of Malice to *Flavian*; and had abus'd his Bounty in many reſpects. Hereupon *Theodoſius* turn'd him out of all his Employments, confiſcated his Eſtate, and baniſh'd him. This was thought too mild a Proceeding againſt one, who had not only moſt ſhamefully abus'd the Favour of his Prince, but troubled the Repoſe of the Church, and horribly perſecuted her faithful Paſtors. *Theodoſius* at the ſame time ſeverely reprov'd his Wife *Eudocia*, for concurring with *Chryſaphius* in his Intrigues, and procuring a Diſagreement between him and his Siſter *Pulcheria*, reproaching her beſides for her private Correſpondence with *Paulinus*, and appear'd ſo diſpleas'd at her, that to avoid his Indignation ſhe got leave to viſit the Holy Paces at *Jeruſalem*, where ſhe led a very devout retir'd Life. After this publick Juſtice done to the great Satisfaction of his Subjects, and a Deſire to repair the Injuries done to the Church by the late Council at *Epheſus*,

Theodoſius *Dies.*

Theodoſius dy'd on the twenty ninth of *July* at *Conſtantinople*, in the fiftieth Year of his Age, and forty third of his Reign. Hiſtorians are not agreed upon the manner of his Death; ſome ſay he dy'd of Sickneſs, and particularly of the Plague; others that

that he fell off from his Horſe whilſt he was a Hunting, and dy'd the Night following.

He was a Prince exemplary for his Piety, and a great Friend to the Church; but he was of a weak Spirit, and too much guided by thoſe that were about him. Whilſt he ſuffer'd himſelf to be directed by his Siſter *Pulcheria* the Adminiſtration was blameleſs, which indeed redounded more to her Reputation than his own; but he lay too open to the Practices of intriguing Courtiers, who often perſuaded him to Actions unjuſt and unwarrantable. He was ſo far from revenging any Injury offer'd him, that 't's ſaid of him he never was ſeen to be angry. As he reſign'd the Civil Affairs up to the Government of his Siſter and chief Miniſters, ſo did he manage all his Wars by his Generals, addicting himſelf wholly to his Devotions and Recreations. *Theodoſius* dy'd in the ſeventh Conſulate of *Valentinian* and of *Avinus*, in the 1202d Year of *Rome*, *An. Dom.* 450. *His Character.*

Immediately upon the Death of *Theodoſius Pulcheria* got *Martian* to be declar'd Emperor by the Senate, to which the Officers in the Army afterwards conſented. She thought the readieſt way to continue both him and her ſelf in the Authority was to marry him, which ſhe did, but continu'd a Virgin till her Death notwithſtanding, as we are told by *Evagrius*. *Martian* was by Birth a *Thracian*, and being the Son of a Soldier he always follow'd the Wars: It happen'd, as he was going in his Youth to liſt himſelf at *Philippopolis*, he found a Man that had been lately kill'd lying upon the Road; being ſurpriz'd at the Sight, he deferr'd his Journey 'till he could conveniently bury the Corps: But ſome who came by, and obſerv'd the Action, preferr'd an Information againſt him to the Magiſtrates of *Philippopolis*, by whoſe Order he was ap- A. D. 450. MARTIAN.

prehended, indicted, and condemn'd for the Murder; but as they were ready to lead him out to Execution, the true Author of the Fact was diſcover'd and convicted, and *Martian* was left at liberty to follow his Inclinations, which led him to the Wars. *Evagrius* relates ſeveral Paſſages of him, which he ſaith portended the Imperial Dignity: *Martian* ſerving in *Africk* againſt the *Vandals* was taken Priſoner, as we obſerv'd before, with ſeveral others, in that Battel which *Aſpar* loſt to *Genſerich*, and was order'd to be brought with the reſt into a Field, where the King might have the Opportunity of viewing 'em, and where *Martian* was fallen faſt aſleep before the King's Arrival, who coming at laſt to viſit the Priſoners, obſerv'd an Eagle hovering over *Martian* whilſt he ſlept, to protect him with her Wings from the Heat of the Sun, which in that Country, and at that Seaſon of the Year, was very intenſe. Upon this Sight he conjectur'd what in the Courſe of Time was to befall him, and therefore upon a Promiſe given him, that when he came to be Emperor he would never wage War with the *Vandals*, he gave him his Liberty; which Promiſe he religiouſly obſerv'd after his Promotion.

Three Days after his Eſtabliſhment he publiſh'd a ſevere Law againſt ſuch Clerks and Monks as quitted the Orthodox Religion, and follow'd *Eutyches* his damnable Doctrine. He reſtor'd all thoſe Biſhops that had been depos'd by the Council at *Epheſus*, recall'd all that had been baniſh'd, and re-eſtabliſh'd 'em in their ſeveral Dioceſſes; and the

Martian ſummons the Fourth General Council.

Martian Year following this Emperor ſummon'd the Fourth General Council, which was to be celebrated at *Nice*, but by an Order from the Emperor was tranſferr'd to *Chalcedon*, where *Dioſcorus* was depos'd together with all thoſe that had eſpous'd *Eutyches* and his Hereſie.

IV. Th

IV. This Year *Valentinian*, or his Miniſters, were buſily employ'd in warlike Preparations, and the Defence of the Empire, which was threaten'd by *Attila*; who obſerving *Valentinian* to be a vitious unactive Prince, regardleſs of the Publick, and devoted to his ſenſual Pleaſures, thought it no difficult matter to poſſeſs himſelf of the Empire; eſpecially having at preſent an Army on foot conſiſting of no leſs than ſeven hundred thouſand Men, rais'd promiſcuouſly out of *Tartary*, *Poland*, *Germany*, and *Muſcovy*. The Writers of thoſe Times have aim'd at ſeveral Reaſons, or rather Conjectures, for this War, and why *Attila* choſe to begin in *Gaul* ſooner than other Parts of the Empire adjoining nearer to him. *Jornandes* ſaith, that *Honric*, Son of *Genſerich*, having marry'd the Daughter of *Theodorich*, King of the *Goths* in *Gaul*, upon ſome Suſpicion that ſhe had a Deſign to poiſon him cut off her Noſe; and ſent her home to her Father; that *Genſerich* apprehending upon good Grounds *Theodorich* would reſent ſo barbarous an Injury, endeavour'd to ſtrengthen himſelf by an Alliance with *Attila*, and accordingly ſent great Preſents to him, deſiring him to invade *Theodorich*, and promiſing to join him with a very ſtrong Army. *Attila*, who was intent upon nothing but his own Advantage, embrac'd the Opportunity; and that he might firſt divide thoſe he intended to deſtroy, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Valentinian*, conjuring him by no means to aſſiſt *Theodorich*, and aſſuring him at the ſame time that all his Deſigns were upon him: On the other hand, he made *Theodorich* believe all his Preparations were againſt the *Romans*, and adviſ'd him not to intermeddle in the Quarrel. Theſe crafty Practices in the fraudulent King were diſcover'd by the noble *Ætius*, who foreſeeing what a mighty Storm was ready to diſcharge it ſelf upon the Subjects of the

Empire, prevail'd with *Theodorick*, and his Son *Thoriſmond*, to ſuſpend for the preſent their particular Quarrels to the Empire, and by an Union with it oppoſe the furious Torrent, which ſeem'd to threaten both alike. In the mean time *Attila* was marching at the Head of his numerous Forces out of *Scythia* into *Germany* in the very midſt of Winter, encouraging the People as he march'd along to throw off their Obedience to the *Roman* Empire, and joining with him have their Share in the Spoils of *Gaul*, and by this means rais'd ſo powerful an Army, as ſeem'd deſign'd not only for the Deſtruction of *Gaul*, but the whole Earth. When he was advanc'd as far as the *Rhine*, he built ſo many Boats for the Tranſportation of his Forces that the vaſt *Hercinian* Foreſt ſeem'd unable to ſupply him with a ſufficient quantity of Timber. Having paſs'd the River, he took and pillag'd *Cologn*, *Tongri*, and *Mets*; from thence he paſs'd on to *Arras*, which met with the like Treatment, for where-ever he came he put all to Fire and Sword, and ſo grew amazingly terrible to all Mankind: He order'd himſelf to be call'd *The Scourge of God*, and as ſuch he behav'd himſelf, the Inſtrument of Divine Wrath, and a publick Plague to the reſt of Mankind.

Attila *invades* Gaul.

Ætius being inform'd of the Barbarian's Progreſs, muſter'd his Forces at *Arles*, as well thoſe of the Empire, as the Confederates under *Theodorick* King of the Weſtern *Goths*, *Meroveus* of the *Franks*, *Sangiban* and *Gundicarius* Kings of the *Alani* and *Burgundians*, between whom at preſent *Gaul* was divided. *Anian*, Biſhop of *Orleance*, hearing of *Attila*'s Approach towards that City, went ſpeedily to *Ætius*, to acquaint him with the dangerous Condition the City would be in without a timely Relief, and was ſent back with the Promiſe of a ſpeedy Succour by *Ætius*: He was hardly return'd before *Attila*

†

tila laid Siege to the City with his whole Army, battering it on every ſide with his Warlike Engines: but here his Arms firſt met with a check, for *Ætius*, *Theodorick*, and *Thoriſmond* arriving forc'd him to raiſe the Siege, tho' ſome ſay he broke into the City, but upon the approach of the Confederates was forc'd to retire, before he had time to pillage it, to the *Campi Catalaunici*, or Plains of *Chalons*, angry and enrag'd at his Diſappointment, and there he reſolv'd to provoke *Ætius* to Fight, whom he had already conquer'd in Imagination, depending upon the Multitude of his Forces. *Ætius*, who was as willing to engage as *Attila*, ſoon preſented himſelf, and ſtood prepar'd for a bloody Battel; he was at firſt in a great ſuſpence, and ſuſpected the King of the *Alans*, who he was inform'd had an Intent to Deſert the *Romans* in the Fight, and run over to *Attila*; having therefore made a treble Diviſion of his Forces, he plac'd him in the midſt; the Right Wing he committed to *Theodorick* and his Son *Thoriſmond*, the Left he commanded himſelf, and both in the Front and Rear he diſpos'd the moſt Valiant of the *Roman* Legions, the better to oblige the reſt to fight. The Fight was very obſtinate and bloody on both ſides, continuing from Noon 'till Midnight; at which time neither Party yielded, but were rather parted by the Inconvenience of the Night; and *Attila* ſounding a Retreat retir'd behind a Rampart he had formerly made, and left *Ætius* Maſter of the Field, who poſted his Men in the beſt manner he could 'till the Morning, leſt the Enemy ſhould take any Advantage, and ſnatch that Victory out of his Hands which he began already to think himſelf ſecure of, and was the next Morning aſſur'd of his Succeſs. *Attila* is ſaid to have loſt in the Battel no leſs than one hundred and ſeventy thouſand Men. On the

He lays Siege to Orleance,

and raiſes the Siege.

Ætius *engages him,*

and beats him.

Romans ſide *Gundcarius*, King of the *Burgundians*, and *Theodorick* was ſlain, at which his Son *Thoriſmond* was ſo enrag'd, that he reſolv'd inſtantly to attack *Attila* in his Camp, and revenge his Father's Death; but *Ætius*, who was ſenſible of the Strength and aſpiring Genius of the *Goths*, was afraid if the *Hunns* ſhould be totally overthrown, that then they would turn their Forces againſt the Empire, and therefore in Policy choſe to let him eſcape at preſent, that he might awe the *Goths* and *Franks*, and divert 'em from any dangerous Attempts upon the Empire; whereupon, after he had given *Thoriſmond* large Commendations for his extraordinary Valour, he advis'd him with ſpeed to go and take Poſſeſſion of his Father's Dominions both in *Gaul* and *Spain*, before his Neighbours had time to raiſe him any Diſturbance there. *Thoriſmond* approv'd of his Advice, and ſo deferr'd his Revenge to another Opportunity. This Proceeding of *Ætius* towards *Attila* was very much blam'd by ſome, and gave others an opportunity of repreſenting him as a dangerous Perſon to *Valentinian*, and one that had a Deſign of making himſelf Emperor; to which end he held private Correſpondence with *Attila*, whom he forbore to deſtroy, when he had him in his Power, and ſuffer'd him to eſcape, to bring more Miſchief upon the Empire. Theſe Suggeſtions, how ill ſo ever they were grounded, prov'd in time the Ruin both of *Valentinian* and *Ætius*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

A. D. 452. *Attila* having been beaten in *Gaul* retir'd with his Troops into *Pannonia*, which was now become the Seat of the *Hunns*, Part of it being call'd from them *Hungaria*; here having refreſh'd his Army, and reinforc'd it to that degree, that it was far more numerous than the Year before, he reſolv'd now to invade *Italy* it ſelf, which was more plentiful than any of the Pro-

Provinces, and where he thought he ſhould meet with no *Goths*, *Alans*, *Franks*, or *Burgundians*, who in Confederacy with the *Romans* could oppoſe his Arms. The News of his Deſigns and Preparations were no ſooner known in *Italy*, but the People were in a greater Conſternation than at the Expeditions of *Alarich* and *Radagaiſus*; for they conſider'd *Attila* as a Barbarian, more fierce and ſavage than either of the former, who profeſs'd himſelf delighted in Deſtruction, and rejoic'd at the Calamities he brought upon his Fellow-Creatures. At the ſame time there was a Report of ſeveral new Prodigies, particularly of three great Stones that fell from Heav'n; beſides *Italy* had been lately afflicted by a great Dearth, which was attended by a grievous Peſtilence, Calamities terrible enough in themſelves, without the Aggravation of any other Miſchiefs.

Attila *invades* Italy.

Attila having paſs'd the *Danube* towards the end of Winter, and repuls'd the Garriſons plac'd by *Valentinian* for the Defence of the *Julian Alps*, enter'd into *Friuli* and *Iſtria*; and the Inhabitants of *Venetia*, who expected the firſt Violence of the Storm, betook themſelves to the Iſlands and inacceſſible Marſhes of the *Adriatick*, upon the firſt terrible Noiſe of *Attila*'s Preparations; here they laid the Foundations of the City, call'd from the Name of the Country, *Venice*, which exceedingly encreas'd by the Deſtruction of *Aquileia*, and the other Neighbouring Cities which felt the Fury of *Attila*'s Arms, and is at preſent one of the moſt glorious Common-wealths in Chriſtendom, or perhaps in the World. *Valentinian* had fortify'd *Aquileia*, the Metropolis of *Venetia*, a ſtrong Town, deſign'd to protect the Borders of *Italy* from the Incurſions of the Barbarians. This Place *Attila* Beſieg'd, and batter'd it furiouſly for the ſpace of three Months together; but the Beſieg'd defended

The firſt Foundation of Venice.

Attila *Beſieges* Aquileia.

themſelves with ſo much Bravery, that the Barbarians were ready to Mutiny, and murmur'd at the King for ſpending his Time, and the Strength of his Army in a Siege, where they got nothing but Blows to encourage them; whereupon *Attila* had thoughts of raiſing it, but was prevented by an Omen, which gave him freſh Encouragement; for he obſerv'd a Stork, that had built her Neſt upon the top of a great Tower in the City, to take her young ones and fly with 'em far off into the Country. This he ſhow'd to his Army, and told 'em *what the Stork did was by Inſtinct, and a natural Foreſight, that ſhe could expect no more Safety in a City that was going to be taken by a Victorious Enemy*; he adviſ'd 'em therefore *not to be wanting to themſelves, but patiently expect the Poſſeſſion of what was due to their unwearied Labours.* This Speech ſo inflam'd his Men that they once more apply'd their Engines to the Walls, and after a very vigorous Aſſault took the City; tho' ſome ſay it had been firſt deſerted by the Inhabitants, who taking the Advantage of a dark Night eſcap'd by Sea with their Biſhop *Nicetas.* The better to amuſe the Enemy, and gain time for their Retreat, they plac'd certain Wooden Statues upon the Walls, which were to paſs upon the Barbarians for Soldiers put there to guard 'em: The *Hunns* were not ſenſible of the Stratagem 'till they obſerv'd ſeveral Birds to perch unmoleſted upon 'em, and then they ſcal'd the Town, took it without any Reſiſtance, pillag'd it for ſeveral Days together, kill'd all the Men that had been left behind, and raviſh'd the Women, deſigning by this barbarous piece of Severity to ſtrike an Awe into the reſt, and terrifie 'em into Submiſſion. This made the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Cities quit their Dwellings, by which means all the Towns there-

and takes it.

thereabouts fell into the Hands of *Attila*, who inſtead of marching on towards *Rome*, declin'd towards the Right, and fell upon *Treviſa*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, *Breſcio* and *Bergamo*, all which ſhar'd in the Fate of *Aquileia*; towards Winter he paſs'd the *Po*, and proceeded with the like Barbarity againſt *Placentia*, *Parma*, and other Places, ſo that all that Tract of Land, which lyes between the *Alps* and the *Appennine*, was reduc'd to Aſhes. *Ætius* had by this time rais'd a very formidable Army, and having quitted *Rome* was now upon the Borders of *Æmilia*, ready to oppoſe *Attila*; this Conſideration made the Barbarian liſten more readily to the Advice of his Commanders, who were loaden with the Riches of *Italy*, and were deſirous of enjoying it peaceably at home in their own Countries, rather than run the hazard of loſing all again by engaging with *Ætius*, who in ſeveral Skirmiſhes had already cut off ſome of their advanc'd Guards. For this reaſon they remonſtrated to *Attila*, *That he had done enough for the preſent, and ought to defer the Deſign he had upon* Rome *'till ſome other time; for that* Ætius, *a brave experienc'd Commander, was ready at the Head of a powerful Army to ſtop his March, ſhould he direct it towards that City; that he ought to remember the bloody Defeat he met with two Years before in* Gaul, *and not run the hazard of the like Diſaſter in* Italy, *but rather reflect on the Fate of* Alarich, *who liv'd but a little while after he had taken and plunder'd that City.* Theſe Conſiderations made him turn back towards the *Po*, where *Leo*, Biſhop of *Rome*, came to him in an Embaſſie from *Valentinian*, and reaſon'd with ſo much Courage, Gravity and Eloquence, that he both ſurpriz'd and mollify'd him, and perſuaded him to return over the *Danube*, upon Promiſe of an

He returns back over the Danube.

an Annual Tribute; tho' upon his Departure he threaten'd to afflict *Italy* more heavily than ever, unleſs they ſent him *Honoria*, Siſter to the Emperor *Valentinian*, who is ſaid to have invited him to this War, hoping to draw ſome particular Advantage to her ſelf out of it; chuſing rather to ſacrifice the Publick Peace and Safety to her private Luſt, than live in that Reſtraint, which for the Reputation of the Court ſhe was continu'd under.

A.D. 453. The next Year *Attila*, as if he diſdain'd either to be at eaſe himſelf, or indulge it to others, fell with his uſual Fury upon the *Alans* in *Gaul*; but *Thoriſmond* concluding himſelf concern'd in his Neighbour's Calamities, join'd his Troops with the *Alans*, fought, defeated, and ſent him inglorioufly home; where marrying himſelf to a beautiful Virgin, call'd *Hildico*, or *Indicto*, he drunk ſo much Wine upon his Wedding Night, that he was ſuffocated in his Bed by a great Effuſion of Blood which uſually iſſu'd out at his Noſe; but being hinder'd of that Paſſage, whilſt he lay bury'd in Wine and Sleep, pour'd it ſelf down into his Throat and choak'd him. After his Death a Diſſention aroſe among his numerous and ambitious Sons about the Succeſſion, which in the end prov'd the Ruin of that Nation, who juſt before were thought to have aim'd at nothing leſs than the Deſtruction of Mankind; for *Ardarich*, King of the *Gepidæ*, who had follow'd *Attila* in all his Expeditions, roſe up againſt his Sons, and ſhook off the Yoke, in which he was follow'd by the other Nations, who aſſerted and procur'd their former Liberty; for they fought the *Hunns*, kill'd *Ellec*, the eldeſt of *Attila*'s Sons, together with thirty thouſand of his Adherents, and by the Conſent of the Emperor made a Diviſion of their Territories.

He is again defeated in Gaul.

His Death.

Va

Valentinian finding himſelf deliver'd from ſo terrible an Enemy, follow'd his vicious Pleaſures with more unbounded Appetite than ever, which this very Year drew upon him the Puniſhment he had long deſerv'd. There was among the Senators one *Petronius Maximus*, Grandſon to that *Maximus* who was overthrown by *Theodoſius* the Great, that had marry'd a Wife not more extraordinary for her Beauty than Chaſtity. With this Lady the Emperor became deeply in Love, and when he found that all his Threats, Promiſes and Preſents were to no purpoſe, he reſolv'd to ſeize on that by Force, which he could not purchaſe by his Importunity. He one Day ſent for *Maximus* to Court, and playing with him at Dice won a conſiderable Sum of Money from him, and receiv'd a Ring off his Finger as a Pledge for the Payment of it. This Ring he ſent privately to his Wife, and requir'd her, in her Husband's Name, to come and wait upon the Empreſs *Eudoxia*; the Lady knowing it to be her Husband's Ring, without any Heſitation came to Court, and was conducted, by ſome the Emperor imploy'd for that purpoſe, into a remote Chamber, where *Valentinian* by force enjoy'd her. She at firſt imagin'd her Husband privy to the Outrage by reaſon of the Ring, ſo that upon her Return home ſhe ſeverely reproach'd him, as the Author of his own Diſhonour and Infamy. *Maximus*, ſurpriz'd at this Diſcourſe, acquainted his Wife with the wicked Artifice of the Emperor, and from that Moment reſolv'd to be reveng'd upon *Valentinian*, but knew it impoſſible to effect his Deſtruction whilſt *Ætius* liv'd, and therefore thought how to remove him firſt out of the way; and that he might make *Valentinian* the more odious to the Army, who ador'd *Ætius*, he effected it by the Emperor's own Hands; for he got ſome that were near

Valentinian *Raviſhes the Wife of* Maximus;

near his Perſon to perſuade him that *Ætius* was a dangerous Man, that he was contriving how to ſet up for himſelf, and uſurp the Imperial Dignity; in order to which he kept Correſpondence with the Enemies of the Empire. *Valentinian*'s natural Depravity inclin'd him to be jealous of thoſe he knew to be better than himſelf, ſo that he eaſily believ'd theſe Suggeſtions, and concluded his Safety conſiſted in the Death of *Ætius*, for which reaſon the ungrateful Prince kill'd him himſelf, and order'd all his intimate Friends to be ſlain; the Death of *Ætius* was much lamented by the whole Army, who conſider'd him as the Bulwark of the Empire, which made a *Roman* anſwer *Valentinian*, when he ask'd him if he had not done well in diſpatching *Ætius*, *That he thought he had cut his Right Hand off with his Left*; he was at that time the greateſt Soldier in the Empire, being a perfect Maſter in the Art of War, but withal he had an ambitious aſpiring Spirit, which made him an Enemy to all thoſe whoſe Merit ſeem'd in any degree to equal his. *Valentinian* was ſo far from imagining any one would preſume to revenge upon him the Death of *Ætius*, that he preferr'd ſeveral of the Army who had a profound Veneration for that Great Man to be of his Body Guard; to ſome of theſe *Maximus* addreſs'd himſelf, and prevail'd with two of 'em, known to Poſterity by the Name of *Oſtila* and *Tranſila*, to diſpatch *Valentinian*; accordingly they fell upon him as he was making a Speech to the Soldiers from the Tribunal in the *Campus Martius*, on the 17th of *March*, and kill'd him, together with *Heraclius* his Favourite Eunuch, who courageouſly interpos'd and endeavour'd to ſave his Maſter.

and kills Ætius.

Valentinian ſlain.

A. D. 445. *His Character.*

Valentinian was ſlain in the thirtieth Year of his Reign, and thirty fifth of his Age. During his Government, the Empire, which in the time of *Honori-*

Honorius began to decline, may be ſaid to have been ſeiz'd with a mortal Diſtemper, eſpecially after the Death of his Mother *Placidia*; for all the great Offices of Honour and Profit were at the Diſpoſal of Eunuchs, who ſacrific'd the Good of the Publick to their own private Intereſt and Ambition. After he grew up to Years of Diſcretion he never undertook any Voyage or Journey farther than from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, and from *Ravenna* back again to *Rome*. He continu'd lock'd up in his Palace, where he plung'd himſelf into all ſenſual Pleaſures; this encourag'd the Barbarians to ſtrip him, as they did, of ſo many of the Provinces, for in his Reign *Rome* was taken and pillag'd, *Africk*, *Spain*, *Great-Britain*, and almoſt all *Gaul*, *Germany* and *Illyricum* were diſmember'd from the Weſtern Empire: Tho' we muſt own he was not unhappy in his Wars with that Scourge of God, *Attila*, whom by his Generals he often defeated, and drove out of his Dominions. Certain it is he was the laſt that ſeem'd to be Emperor indeed, in whom a true Imperial Majeſty reſided; for they that ſucceeded him in the Weſt were like Meteors and Exhalations, that vaniſh'd as ſoon as they appear'd.

V. As *Valentinian*'s Life was ſcandalous and unſerviceable to the Empire, ſo did his Death prove fatal and deſtructive to it. Leaving no Sons behind him, it was eaſie for *Maximus*, the Author of his Ruin, to ſeize on the Purple in the general Confuſion, being a Man very rich and powerful, and was accordingly proclaim'd Emperor by the Guards in the Imperial Palace. His own Wife being lately dead, his firſt care was to marry *Eudoxia*, Widow to *Valentinian*, thinking by ſuch a Match to add Reputation and Vigour to his Authority: *Eudoxia* was averſe to the thing, but the Tyrant forc'd her to comply, and by that means ſtain'd *Valentinian*'s Bed,

Maximus *Uſurps.*

Bed, as he had diſhonour'd his. He made his Son *Palladius Cæſar*, and marry'd him to *Eudoxia*, *Valentinian*'s Daughter, who had been formerly promis'd to *Gaudentius*, the Son of *Ætius*. Some Writers ſay he had not held the Empire twenty four Hours before he began to be weary of the Toil, and repented of his Advancement, reputing *Damocles* happy, for that he was cumber'd with Royalty for no longer than the ſpace of one Dinner: However, conſidering that to deſcend from ſo high an Eminence would endanger a Fall, he reſolv'd to maintain himſelf in his new Authority, and, if poſſible, reſtore it to its ancient Splendor; for which purpoſe he made *Avitus*, who had been *Præfectus Prætorio* in *Gaul*, General of his Armies. *Avitus* was deſcended from one of the moſt noble and ancient Families in that Country, he was a Man of Learning and Eloquence, and had given many ſignal Proofs of his Valour and Conduct; him *Maximus* ſent to conclude a Peace with all the neighbouring Crowns from whom he had reaſon to apprehend any Diſturbance, concluding that when once he had eſtabliſh'd himſelf, and ſettled his Affairs at home, he might then deal with 'em at his leiſure, and ſubdue 'em: But God blaſted the Deſigns of this Parricide, and made his own Folly the Inſtrument of his Ruin. Tho' he had marry'd *Eudoxia* only for Reaſons of State, yet in a ſhort time he grew fondly enamour'd, and thought the readieſt way to ingratiate himſelf with her, and gain her Affections, was to tell her that his Love to her made him deſirous of *Valentinian*'s Ruin, which was propos'd and effected purely by his Contrivance for her ſake. She hated and miſtruſted him before, but being now confirm'd in her Suſpicions ſhe was reſolv'd to be reveng'd whatever it coſt her, and took ſuch a Courſe to effect it, as in the Iſſue prov'd fatal to her ſelf, to *Rome*, and all

all *Italy*. Early in the Morning ſhe roſe, and ſent a truſty Servant with Letters to *Genſerich* in *Africk*, conjuring him to come and revenge the Death of his Friend and Allie *Valentinian*, and deliver her out of Captivity, and from the Arms of a Tyrant and Uſurper. This Meſſage was very acceptable to *Genſerich*, who had long wiſh'd for ſuch an Opportunity, which he was reſolv'd to embrace; and immediately rigg'd out a very powerful Fleet of *Vandals* and *Moors*, and ſet Sail for *Italy*, where he was little expected. *Maximus* was, before the News of his Arrival, in a diſconſolate, deſponding Condition; the Burden of Empire made him uneaſie in the Day-time, and the Terrors of a guilty Conſcience diſtracted him in the Night: But upon *Genſerich*'s Approach he was ſeiz'd with the utmoſt Conſternation. Inſtead of providing for the neceſſity of his Affairs, and comforting by his Preſence and Application his unhappy Subjects, who thought their Safety in ſo imminent a Danger conſiſted in their Flight, he participated with 'em in their Fears, and was one of the firſt that prepar'd to fly. This being obſerv'd by ſome Senators that were his Enemies, and that he deſerted thoſe whom it was his Duty to protect, they purſu'd him on the twelfth of *June*, and having ſton'd him, they dragg'd his Corps about the Streets, and then threw it into the *Tiber*. Three Days after this Execution *Genſerich* enter'd *Rome* without any Oppoſition, that now lay expos'd to his Luſt and Avarice. Tho' he had promis'd *Eudoxia* to abſtain from Plunder, and behave himſelf with the greateſt Moderation; tho' *Leo* the Great, who was then Pope of *Rome*, went attended by the chief of the City to meet him, and conjur'd him by all things holy to have Compaſſion of that City, which even *Attila*, a ſworn Enemy to Chriſt, had lately exempted from Violation; notwithſtanding

Genſerich *invades* Italy.

Maximus *Slain.*

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ing all which, this barbarous King, who made a Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, in ſpite of his Faith given to *Eudoxia*, and unmov'd by the Eloquence and more prevailing Tears of the venerable Prelate, gave it up to the Mercy of his Soldiers, who for fourteen Days together rag'd with implacable Fury in the midſt of it, ſparing neither private Dwellings nor publick Buildings; pillaging the very Churches of all the rich Ornaments and conſecrated Veſſels, among which were thoſe taken formerly by *Titus* out of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, and brought to *Rome*, where they had been hitherto very carefully preſerv'd. The Tyrant himſelf forc'd the Imperial Palace, where he ſeiz'd upon all the Treaſure and rich Moveables, affording the Empreſs too much reaſon to repent of the cruel Vengeance ſhe had drawn upon her ſelf and the City; for he carry'd her and her two Daughters, *Placidia* and *Eudoxia*, Captive with him into *Africk*, where he marry'd the Eldeſt to his Son *Honoric*, and ſent the Empreſs to *Conſtantinople*, together with her younger Daughter *Placidia*, who was afterwards marry'd to *Olybrius*, one of the Weſtern Emperors.

Genſerich *ſacks* Rome.

Martian was much concern'd at the Calamities of the Weſtern Empire, but being grown old and infirm he could not provide any Remedies againſt 'em, nor think of naming a new Emperor, as the Senate had deſir'd him. One indeed bore the Title of Emperor in the Weſt, tho' he held it but a few Months. *Avitus*, as we obſerv'd before, had been ſent by *Maximus* into *Gaul*, where, upon the News of the Tyrant's Death, he was perſuaded by *Theodorich*, King of the *Goths*, to aſſume the Purple; who repreſented to him, *That there was no other Perſon in the Empire fit to bear the Burden, and ſupport the Dignity of it; that the publick Intereſt, and the Safety of the State requir'd it of him; that he might*

might do it without injuring any one, becauſe there appear'd no Pretenders to it; that the Soldiers and the People preſented it to him, and begg'd him to accept of the Imperial Scepter; that as for his part he might aſſure himſelf of all the Power and Aſſiſtance he could expect from him, the better to ſupport his Title. *Avitus*, who well foreſaw how difficult a thing it would be to preſerve himſelf in that Dignity they were now courting him to accept of, however ſuffer'd himſelf to be prevail'd upon by the Officers that were about him, and the Perſuaſions of *Theodorich*, ſo that he was declar'd Emperor on the tenth of *July*, and immediately ſent to acquaint the Senate of *Rome* with his Promotion, and to inform 'em, that as ſoon as he had compos'd the Affairs in *Gaul* he intended to appear in Perſon among 'em. Accordingly he gave Orders for the Defence of thoſe Parts lying on the other ſide the *Loire* from the Incurſions of the *Franks*, and thoſe on the South ſide from the Violence of the *Goths*, and engag'd his Friend *Theodorich* to defend that Portion of *Spain* which as yet acknowledg'd an Obedience to the Empire from the Inſults of the *Suevi*; after which he ſet forward for *Rome*, attended by a very gallant Army, compos'd for the moſt part of ſuch *Goths* as *Theodorich* had appropriated to his Service. This made the Senate and People receive him at firſt with an outward Show of Joy and Submiſſion, becauſe indeed they were not ſtrong enough to oppoſe him; but as ſoon as he had diſmiſs'd his Troops, upon a Preſumption that he ſhould have no further Occaſion for 'em, then they began to teſtifie their Averſion to him, eſpecially out of an Abhorrence to the Memory of *Maximus*, who firſt Advanc'd him, and whom they condemn'd as the Spring of all their preſent Calamities; they therefore expell'd him out of the City, and forc'd him to di-

AVITUS *declar'd Emperor.*

and is depos'd.

veſt himſelf of the Imperial Purple, after he had worn it eight or ten Months. This he did at *Placentia*, of which Place he got himſelf to be ordain'd Biſhop, but finding that Character could not ſecure him from the Fury and Indignation of the Senate, he reſolv'd to take Sanctuary in the Church of St. *Julian* in *Auvergne*, where he was born, but dy'd upon the Road as he was travelling thither.

In the mean time *Theodorich*, according to his Promiſe given *Avitus*, march'd with a numerous Army out of *Aquitain* into *Spain*, where he fought with *Ricciarius*, King of the *Suevi*, Six Leagues off from the City of *Aſtorga*, overthrew him, took him Poiſoner in his Flight, and put him to Death; after this Victory he waſted at his Pleaſure *Gallicia* and *Portugal*. But whilſt he with his *Goths* was diverted thus in *Spain*, and the *Roman* Army follow'd *Avitus* into *Italy*, the *Franks* made uſe of the Opportunity they had been often wiſhing for, and ſettled themſelves in the middle of *Gaul*, eſtabliſhing their Kingdom at *Paris*, and by that means tore another Principality out of the Body of the Weſtern Empire.

A. D. 457. This Loſs was follow'd by another in *Africk*, where *Genſerich*, not contented with the late Violation of the Peace, crown'd one Injuſtice with another, and ſeiz'd on that Part of *Africk* which in the Partition of the Country had been reſign'd to *Valentinian*; ſo that the *Romans* now had nothing left there, for it continu'd intire in the Poſſeſſion of the *Vandals* 'till the Reign of *Juſtinian*. In this miſerable defenceleſs Condition was the Empire of the Weſt, an Empire in name, but in reality no other than the Shadow of her former Greatneſs, deſerted by her Friends, inſulted by her Enemies, and grown the very Sport of Fortune, that in every reſpect had abandon'd her. 'Tis true the Emperor *Martian*

Martian was nearly touch'd at her Confuſion, but as he was preparing to relieve and reſtore her, and revenge upon the Barbarians the Affronts the *Roman* Majeſty had ſuſtain'd, he was prevented by Death, which put an end to all his future Deſigns, after a peaceable Reign of ſix Years: For in his time the Barbarians gave little or no Diſturbance on that ſide of the Empire, which is imputed by moſt Writers to his extraordinary Wiſdom and Circumſpection. Martian *Dies.*

He is much commended for the Innocence and Simplicity of his Manners, and his Zeal for the Defence and Purity of Religion; and eſpecially in that at his Death he left the Army ſubject to the Directions of the Senate, and the Senate ſo modeſt and unanimous that no Heats, Diviſions, or ſiniſter ambitious Practices appear'd in the Choice of a Succeſſor, the Election falling upon *Leo*, a *Thracian* by Birth, who had ſignaliz'd himſelf upon many extraordinary Occaſions, and was acknowledg'd by all to be worthy the Imperial Dignity. *His Character.* Leo *elected Emperor.*

Leo, as ſoon as he was Crown'd by *Anatolius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, thought it high time to ſupply the Weſtern Empire with a worthy Head, and reſolv'd to promote *Majorianus* to that high Dignity, a Man of great Wiſdom and Virtue, and the moſt capable to reſtore the Peace of *Europe:* Having therefore made him General of the Armies, as the next Step to the Imperial Power, he ſent him with a noble Train into *Italy*, where by the general Conſent of all he was declar'd *Auguſtus*; and applying himſelf ſeriouſly to the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, he made choice of the ableſt Men in the Empire to be the Miniſters of State; making *Ricimer*, a *Goth* by Nation, but a Man of great Experience, and on whom he entirely depended, Commander in chief of all his Forces; his firſt care was to ſecure *Italy* againſt the Inſults of *Genſerich*, who rigg'd out a Fleet this Majorian *Emperor in the Weſt.*

Year with an intent to fall upon *Campania*, and enrich himſelf with the Spoils of that Country, whilſt the Empire was without a Governor; but *Majorianus* march'd againſt him with a ſtrong Army and gave him Battel, in which the *Vandals* were overthrown, and forc'd to fly to their Ships for Safety.

A. D. 458. After this he ſupply'd all the Coaſts of *Italy* that lye towards *Africk* with good Garriſons, and in the beginning of the Year following fitted out a ſtrong Fleet, with an intent to follow the *Vandals* into *Africk*, and make that the Seat of the War. All this while *Theodorich* was purſuing his Conqueſts in *Spain*, piercing with his Troops into the Heart of *Portugal* without any Reſiſtance, and was ſate down before the City of *Merida*, but rais'd the Siege upon an Intelligence of ſome Commotions in his own Dominions in *Gaul*, which oblig'd him to return home; where, during the Abſence of the Forces of the Empire in *Africk*, he fell upon ſome of the *Roman* Dominions in *Gaul*, and extending his Conqueſts up as far as the *Rhône*, he beſieg'd, took and pillag'd the wealthy City of *Lyons*, but was at laſt compell'd to ſubmit to *Majorian*, who granted him Peace upon Condition he lent him ſome of his Forces, which he deſign'd to employ againſt the *Vandals* in *Africk*, which he was very ambitious of recovering out of the Hands of the Barbarians. The better to inform himſelf of the Strength of the Enemy, the State of the Country, and how the Inhabitants ſtood affected to the *Roman* Intereſt, he is ſaid to have enter'd upon a Deſign full of Danger for a Perſon of his Dignity; for he diſguis'd himſelf, and went in the Quality of an Ambaſſador from the *Roman* Emperor, ſent into *Africk* to make *Genſerich* ſome Overtures of a Peace. *Genſerich* receiv'd him very kindly, ſhow'd him the Magnificence of his Court, his Treaſury and Arſenal; all which when *Majorianus* had

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had ſufficiently contemplated, and diſcover'd all he had a Deſire to be inform'd of, he return'd to his Army, and immediately beſieg'd *Carthage*, which he was in a fair way of taking when he fell dangerouſly ſick, and ſo was oblig'd to raiſe the Siege and Embark for *Italy*, after a great part of *Mauritania*, ſurpriz'd at his ſudden Expedition, had ſubmitted to him, and they were not without Hopes that the whole Country might be reduc'd. Indeed the Empire ſeem'd to receive new Life from his great Abilities and Induſtry, by Virtue of which A. D. he had forc'd the *Goths* to ſue for a Peace, as we 461. obſerv'd before, and not long after, by his vigorous Preparations, ſtruck ſuch a Terror into *Genſerich*, who was aw'd by his Virtue, that he grew weary of the War, and ſollicited a Peace, which was granted him by *Majorianus* upon Terms very advantageous to the Empire. But the Hopes the State conceiv'd of a Recovery under his Hands, were no other than a lightning, as it's call'd, before Death; for whilſt he was buſied in ſettling the Affairs of *Gaul*, *Ricimer* and *Severus* form'd a Conſpiracy againſt him, in which it was agreed that *Ricimer* ſhould diſpatch him, and *Severus* ſeize on the Empire; for *Ricimer* being a Barbarian had not the Confidence to uſurp the Purple himſelf. Before *Majorianus* left *Gaul* he preſs'd the *Alani* ſo cloſe, that to divert him they Invaded *Italy*, which he made haſte to relieve, and follow'd 'em as far as *Tortona* in *Liguria*, where he was met by *Ricimer*, who at firſt pretended he had brought ſome Forces to his Aſſiſtance, but murder'd him Majorianus on the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, and ſo gave a Mortal *murder'd by* Wound to the Empire in the Weſt. So ſoon Ricimer, as this was done *Ricimer* return'd to *Ravenna*, where the Soldiers, who had been prepar'd before Hand, declar'd *Severus* Emperor without waiting

for any Orders or Approbation from *Conſtantinople*. This new Emperor, after ſome ſucceſsful Enterpriſes againſt the *Vandals*, who had upon the Death of *Majorianus* attack'd the Iſlands adjoining to *Africk*, and had defeated the *Alani* who had invaded *Liguria*, was in the fourth Year of his Reign poiſon'd by his Friend *Ricimer*, after which was an *Inter-regnum* for ſome time in the Weſt.

The Death of Leo *the Great, Pope of* Rome.

Not long before this dy'd *Leo* the Great, who had been Pope of *Rome* for one and twenty Years together, a Man of a great Mind and extraordinary Qualifications, remarkable as in ſeveral other reſpects, ſo particularly in this, that whereas his Predeceſſors founded their Pretenſions to a Superiority upon the Dignity of the Imperial City, and the Conſtitutions of ſome precedent Councils, he obſerving the Diſtractions under which the Weſtern Empire labour'd, and which threaten'd it with a Diſſolution, and that the City of *Rome*, which had been often taken and pillag'd, was in great Danger of loſing her Sovereignty, choſe rather to eſtabliſh the Precedency he claim'd, as Pope of *Rome*, over all other Biſhops whatever, upon thoſe Words of Chriſt, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock I build my Church*; from thence claiming a peculiar Prerogative, as the immediate Succeſſor of St. *Peter*. The Chriſtian World has too much reaſon to know how this Title has been ſince proſecuted.

After the Death of *Severus*, who, tho' an Uſurper, fell lamented by the Senate and People of *Rome*, *Genſerich* once more broke out into Hoſtilities, and behav'd himſelf more like a Pirate than a Prince, ſometimes infeſting the Coaſts of *Italy*, at others falling upon *Gaul*, or the Neighbouring Iſlands, where, after having ſeiz'd on whatever things of value the Country afforded, he return'd loaden with the Spoils to *Africk*; and was uſually

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ſo uncertain in his Expeditions, that they never knew where to expect or oppoſe him; being very often at a loſs himſelf what Courſe to ſteer upon his firſt putting out to Sea, as appear'd by his Anſwer one Day to his Admiral, who demanding of him to what Part he would have him Sail, he reply'd, *Thither where God ſhall call, and the Wind drive us.*

A. D. 467. Theſe his continu'd Depredations made *Leo* at length reſolve to nominate an Emperor for the Weſt, where *Ricimer*, ever ſince the Death of *Severus*, had govern'd as he pleas'd, tho' without the Marks of Empire, and done the State no ſmall Service againſt the *Vandals*. *Leo* made choice of *Anthemius*, a Man of Noble Extraction, and very wealthy, who, after he had behav'd himſelf with much Courage in the Wars againſt the *Hunns*, over whom he had obtain'd many Advantages, was advanc'd to the Principal Command in the Army; theſe Qualifications, and the Perſonal Kindneſs *Leo* had for him, made him conſider him as the fitteſt Man for a Collegue, and accordingly declar'd him Emperor in the Weſt. Some ſay this Choice was not only confirm'd by the Conſent of *Ricimer* himſelf and the Senate, but conferr'd upon him at their united Requeſts; accordingly *Anthemius* ſet out from the Eaſt, and arrived at *Rome* on the twelfth of *April*, where he was received, and declar'd *Auguſtus* with the general Applauſe and Acclamation of the Peop'e: For as much as *Ricimer*'s Power was known to be abſolute in the Weſt, it was at firſt agreed that he ſhould marry *Anthemius* his Daughter, and by that means the better confirm the Sovereign Power in the Hands of his Father-in-Law, and to make the Empire ſtronger, if poſſible, by Alliances, *Leo* marry'd his Daughter *Leontia* to *Martian*, the Son of *Anthemius*, ſo that

ANTHEMIUS.

for ſome time both Courts were employ'd in Publick Triumphs and Diverſions, as if the ancient Glories of the Empire were blooming a-freſh, and there were no Enemies able to diſturb 'em; tho' *Leo* in the midſt of theſe Solemnities had his Thoughts upon *Genſerich*'s Depredations and Piracies, and what Courſe was to be taken to reſtrain him; for he had lately infeſted *Illyricum* and *Peloponneſus*, which being Members of the Eaſtern Empire more particularly concern'd him; for this reaſon he fitted out a very ſtrong Fleet, ſaid to conſiſt of no leſs than eleven hundred Sail well equipp'd, and provided with all ſorts of Ammuniti-

Baſiliſcus, *Admiral of Leo's Fleet*;

on and Proviſion, and made *Baſiliſcus*, Brother to his Wife *Verina*, Admiral; and at the ſame time deſir'd and adviſ'd *Anthemius* to make what Forwardneſs he could in his Preparations for the War. *Genſerich* in the mean while had recourſe to his uſual Devices, and privately inform'd *Olybrius*, a Senator, very Rich and of great Intereſt, *That if he would join with him at that Conjuncture againſt the two Emperors, he would employ all his Forces to make him Emperor of the Weſt*; *Olybrius* willingly liſten'd to his Propoſals, and from that time forward fell off from his Affections to *Anthemius*.

Before *Leo* ſuffer'd his Fleet to put to Sea, he thought it Prudence to ſecure *Marcellianus* to his Intereſt, who had been formerly a great Friend to *Ætius*, after whoſe Murder he revolted from the Emperor, and perſuaded others to follow his Example, with whom he retir'd into *Dalmatia*, where he fortify'd himſelf in Defiance of the Empire, and grew very rich and powerful in the Country; but *Leo* ſo effectually prevail'd upon him by the Intervention of ſome who had a Friendſhip for both, that he enter'd into his Service, and com-

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manded an Army in *Sardinia*, which had been lately ſeiz'd by the *Vandals*, whom he drove out of the Iſland, and having reſtor'd it to the Obedience of the *Roman* Empire proceeded into *Sicily*, for which he hop'd to effect the ſame Deliverance. About the ſame time *Leo*'s Forces landed in *Africk*, where *Heraclius* with an advanc'd Party took the Town of *Tripoly*, and had *Baſiliſcus* march'd on directly to *Carthage* he might eaſily have maſter'd that City, and with it the reſt of the Country, and ſo have put an end to the War at once. For the News of the loſs of *Tripoly* and *Sardinia*, and the appearance of ſo powerful a Fleet, ſo diſtracted the Barbarians, that they were ſeiz'd with a Panick Fear; but by his dilatory Proceedings and ill Conduct, he gave *Genſerich* time to look about him, and learn to deſpiſe him; whether this proceeded from his Fear and Cowardice, or his Avarice, being corrupted by a great Sum of Mony ſent him from *Genſerich*, or whether he was perſuaded to it by *Aſpar*, who advis'd him to prolong the War, and thereby make himſelf more conſiderable to the Empire, the readieſt way to attain the Imperial Power, to which he promis'd in time to advance him, is uncertain. *Aſpar* is thought to have given him this wicked Counſel, leſt *Leo*, upon his Succeſs, ſhould grow too Bold and Potent, and have it in his Power to ruin him and his Factious Heretical Family. Whatever the Reaſons were, *Genſerich* improv'd the Advantage, rais'd all the Forces he could, Mann'd out his Fleet, and that he might gain time ſufficient to provide himſelf, he deſir'd, by his Ambaſſadors ſent to *Baſiliſcus*, time to reſolve either to ſubmit to the Emperor, or continue the War. *Baſiliſcus* without any ſcruple conſented to a Ceſſation, and in the mean time had no Care of the Fleet, but lay open to the Practices of the Enemy, who one Night,

who miſcarries in the Expedition.

Night, whilſt the *Romans* were aſleep, took the Advantage of a favourable Wind, and bore down upon 'em with ſome Fire-Ships prepar'd for that purpoſe, which they let drive with full Sail upon the *Roman* Navy, and the next Morning, before the *Romans* could have time to Tack and recover themſelves out of their Diſorder, they drew up into a Line of Battel; but *Baſiliſcus* was ſo far from venturing an Engagement, that he tack'd about, and made way with the beſt Sail he had; the reſt of the Fleet ſeeing the Admiral quit his Station follow'd his Example, and crowded after him, ſaving themſelves where and in what manner they could. The Land-Army left behind in *Africk*, being thus abandon'd, was eaſily defeated by the *Vandals*, who kill'd ſome, and made the reſt Priſoners; whilſt *Baſiliſcus* made haſte to *Conſtantinople*, where the People were ſo incens'd againſt him, that he was forc'd to fly for Refuge into the great Church, and at laſt, by the Emperor's Permiſſion, retir'd into *Thrace*. Thus all theſe mighty Hopes and Warlike Preparations vaniſh'd into Air; *Genſerich* grew more Bold and Preſumptuous upon his Deliverance, and the great Check and Diſappointment of the Empire. *Marcellianus*, who had hitherto met with great Succeſs in *Sicily*, was over-power'd by the *Vandals*, who, after the Miſcarriage of the Imperial Fleet, were ſent in great Numbers to the Relief of the Iſland, and the *Romans*, fruſtrated of their great Expectations, grew heartleſs and diſpirited.

A. D. 368.

Leo knew very well that *Aſpar* was in a great meaſure the Author of theſe Misfortunes; he was the great Patron of the *Arian* Faction, and ſo potent in Friends and Dependants, that *Leo* found it neceſſary to diſſemble with him in order to ruin him, for which reaſon he created his Son *Cæſar*, gave him his Daughter in Marriage, and by that

Aſpar's Son made Cæſar.

means

means endeavour'd to allure him into a ſenſeleſs Security, if he found it impoſſible to reduce him to his Duty and Loyalty. The Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* were much diſpleas'd at this Promotion, for they knew *Aſpar* and all his Family were obſtinate *Arians*, and were enrag'd when they beheld a Son of that Family deſign'd Succeſſor to an Old Man in the Imperial Seat. In the mean time *Aſpar* grew more Inſolent upon his Son's Advancement, and could not conceal from the People his ambitious Deſigns; this provok'd the Citizens to that degree that they inſulted him in the *Hippodrome*, and ſo terrify'd him with their Threats, that he was forc'd to fly and take Sanctuary in the Church of *Chalcedon*. The Emperor ſent *Gennadius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, after him, and promis'd him and his Sons all the Security they could deſire, if they would return; but they refus'd to ſtir, unleſs the Emperor himſelf would come in Perſon, and Protect 'em from the Inſolence of the Rabble; he went accordingly, took 'em home to his Palace, treated 'em at his own Table, and by his Condeſcention perſuaded 'em to imagine he had either forgotten or forgiven their Practices againſt him. But finding they were Perſons in no meaſure to be truſted, and that he muſt either prevent them, or be prevented by 'em, he order'd *Zeno*, an *Iſaurian*, to cut off their Heads the next time they came to Court. *Zeno*, being a hardy reſolute Man, punctually executed his Commiſſion, by which means the moſt potent Family in the Empire, which had brought great Difficulties upon the State, and had no leſs afflicted the Church, was deſtroy'd in the height of their Ambition, to the great Safety of the Emperor and Satisfaction of the People. From hence Princes may draw this uſeful Maxim, Never to ſuffer their Miniſters to grow too great, leſt in time

Aſpar takes Sanctuary at Chalcedon.

A. D. 470.

Aſpar and his Sons Slain.

time they become more powerful and popular than themſelves; and ambitious Courtiers ought to be cautious in their exalted Fortunes of making their Maſters jealous of their Greatneſs, leſt they provoke the ſame Power that lifted them up to turn to their Deſtruction.

Ricimer, *angry at it,*

The *Arian* Hereticks, who were then very powerful and numerous throughout both the Empires, were highly affronted at the Death of *Aſpar*, and his Sons, but no one was more diſpleas'd and irritated than their Friend and Countryman *Ricimer*, who knowing himſelf powerful in his Intereſt at home, having the Chief Command in the Army, and no leſs formidable in his Friends abroad, began at this time to practiſe againſt *Anthemius*, and ſtudy'd how to deprive him both of his Life and Dignity. *Evarich*, King of the *Goths* in *Spain* and *Gaul*, and *Genſerich*, King of the *Vandals* in *Africk*, the Terror as well of the Eaſt as the Weſt, were his great Friends upon account of his Original and Religion, both which were ready to create or countenance any Diſturbances in the Empire, ſo that he made no doubt of deſtroying *Anthemius*, and in his Deſtruction revenge upon *Leo* the Death of *Aſpar*. However, he either wanted Art or Care enough to weave his Deſigns ſo fine, as to make 'em paſs unobſerv'd by the watchful Eye of *Anthemius*, who began firſt to diſtruſt, and then expreſs his Reſentments againſt him, and the Coals of Diſſention were by their Friends on both ſides blown up to that degree, that *Ricimer* was glad to provide for his Safety in *Milan*, where in appearance he deſir'd to live at Peace, but was inwardly reſolv'd upon *Anthemius* his Ruin. The Nobility of thoſe Parts were very much concern'd at this Breach, which they were afraid would at length plunge *Italy* into new Miſchiefs; they therefore undertook

dertook to mediate betwixt him and the Emperor, and perſuaded him to a Submiſſion; they recommended *Epiphanius*, Biſhop of *Pavia*, to negotiate a Reconciliation with the Emperor. *Epiphanius* was a Man in great Eſteem for his Probity, Prudence, Eloquence and Capacity; which Conſiderations made *Ricimer* willing to comply with their Deſires, and accordingly the Biſhop accepted of the Employment. *Anthemius* knew the ſcope of *Ricimer*'s Deſigns, in his choice of a Perſon ſo celebrated for his Sanctity; for if he now refus'd to liſten to *Ricimer*'s Propoſitions of Peace, he ſhould loſe himſelf in the Opinion of honeſt well-meaning Men, and if he embrac'd 'em he put it once more in his Power to undo him. The Biſhop deliver'd his Meſſage to him in a very elegant, pathetical Speech, and obtain'd his Deſire: *Anthemius* conſented to a Peace, which he knew in his own Thoughts would not be long obſerv'd, and diſmiſs'd the Biſhop highly pleas'd with the Succeſs of his Negotiation.

After this there ſeem'd for ſome time to be a good Correſpondence between 'em, but the Year following *Ricimer* broke out into open Rebellion, and with a very ſtrong Army beſieg'd *Anthemius* in *Rome*, where the Inhabitants, ſenſible of the Injuſtice of *Ricimer*'s Cauſe, were well affected to *Anthemius*, but were afraid to declare themſelves becauſe the Rebel appear'd the more powerful. *Ricimer* preſs'd on the Siege with much Vigour, and ſo cloſely block'd up the Town, that firſt a Famine, and after that a grievous Plague rag'd within the Walls. In this condition the Emperor's whole Dependance lay in the Succours he expected from the *Goths* in *Gaul*, who were moving to his Aſſiſtance under the Conduct of *Bilimer*; but *Ricimer* turn'd head againſt 'em, fought, and deſtroy'd a great Number of 'em, among

A. D. 462. *Beſieges* Anthemius *in* Rome.

mong whom was their Commander; and exalted by this Succeſs renew'd the Siege with redoubled Vigour: And the City being much weaken'd by Detachments, by Famine, and the Plague, he broke into it on the eleventh of *July*, where he rag'd with as much Fury as *Alarich* or *Genſerich* had done before him: Thus was the Capital City of the World taken no leſs than three times, within the ſpace of ſixty three Years, by her moſt implacable Enemies. He permitted his Soldiers to plunder the Citizens, exempting only two Regions in which he had ſettled his own Quarters. He laid hold of *Anthemius*, and without any regard had to him as his Emperor or Father-in-Law he put him to Death, and eſtabliſh'd *Olybrius* Emperor in his room. But God thought fit ſhortly after to puniſh him for his inhuman Cruelties, for he was ſeiz'd with a violent Pain in his Bowels, of which he dy'd on the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, and went to give a juſt Account of his Actions to the Impartial Judge of the Univerſe, after he had domineer'd like a ſecond *Stilicho* ever ſince the Death of *Valentinian*. From a common Soldier he advanc'd himſelf by his Valour to the higheſt Poſts in the Army, and diſpos'd of the Weſtern Empire according to his own Fancy. He had ſeiz'd upon the Church of St. *Agatha* in *Rome* for the Service of his *Arian* Hereticks, who could not be remov'd out of it 'till the Popedom of *Gregory* I. near one hundred and twenty Years after.

puts him to Death,

and Dies himſelf.

Olybrius was ſcarce warm in his new Dignity before he follow'd his great Patron *Ricimer*, in Gratitude to whoſe Memory he made his Grandſon *Gundicarius* a Patrician; an Honour firſt created by *Conſtantine* the Great, and in ſo great Eſteem from the very beginning, that they who were dignify'd with that Title took place of the *Præfecti Prætorio* themſelves.

Ol

Olybrius in his Death left two Competitors to the Succeſſion, one ſupported by *Gundibarius*, who following the Example of his Grandfather *Ricimer* had proclaim'd *Glycerius* Emperor at *Ravenna*; the other promoted by *Leo*, who much reſenting the late Revolutions in *Rome*, eſpecially the Death of *Anthemius*, made choice of *Julius Nepos*, the Son of *Nepotianus*, to whom he marry'd his Neice, and deſign'd him *Cæſar*. Whilſt *Italy* was thus diſtracted and broken by Factions, *Genſerich*, her ancient and vow'd Enemy, did not only oppreſs her by his Arms in her *African* Provinces, but encourag'd the *Oſtrogoths* at once to invade the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empire, to which they were animated by the Proſpect of a great Booty. Hereupon *Theodomir* their King, obſerving the diſtracted Condition of the *Roman* Empire, thought he had now an Opportunity of encroaching upon it, and enlarging his Borders, and accordingly order'd his Brother *Vindemir*, or *Windemir*, to break into *Italy*, whilſt he forc'd himſelf into *Illyricum*, a Country ſtronger and better guarded. *Vindemir* dy'd in his March, and left the Execution of his Enterprize to his Son, who was met by Ambaſſadors from *Glycerius* with Offers of a great Sum of Mony, if he would forbear his Deſigns upon *Italy*, and divert his March into *Gaul*, where he had Relations of his own that reign'd in full Power. *Vindemir* accepted of the Conditions, and went and join'd with the *Viſigoths* in *Gaul*, and by that Junction added much to the Power of thoſe Nations both in *Gaul* and *Spain*. In the mean time *Theodomir*, having defeated the *Sarmatæ*, attack'd *Naiſſus*, the Capital City of all *Illyricum*, took it, and fortify'd it. After this he march'd into *Theſſaly*, where he took *Heraclea* and *Lariſſa*, and had the like Deſign upon *Theſſalonica*; but *Clarianus* the Patrician was got into the Town before him, and with

GLYCERIUS

The Oſtrogoths *invade the Empire.*

with a good Garriſon defended it, 'till by the Emperor's Order he ſent out ſome Ambaſſadors with very rich Preſents to *Theodomir*, who condeſcended to a Peace upon condition that the Eaſtern Part of *Illyricum* was reſign'd up to his *Oſtrogoths*, to which *Leo* readily conſented. By this we may ſee how much the preſent Emperors were degenerated from the Virtues of their Predeceſſors, ſince inſtead of protecting and enlarging their Dominions by their Courage, they were content to preſerve 'em by their Preſents and Entreaties.

The Church afflicted.

As theſe Barbarians diſtreſs'd and diſtracted the Empire by their Arms, ſo they afflicted and divided the Church by their Hereſies. The whole Nation of the *Goths* were obſtinate *Arians*, for the Emperor *Valens*, who was himſelf the great Patron of *Arianiſm*, when requeſted to ſend 'em ſome Biſhops for their Converſion, made choice of none but ſuch as were the great Aſſertors of that damnable Hereſie, who by their Doctrine took care to convert 'em from Idolatry to Blaſphemy, and taught 'em to deny the Divinity of the Eternal Son of God, to the great Detriment of the Church, and Scandal of Chriſtianity.

Theſe *Goths*, whereſoever they planted themſelves by the force of their Arms, took care by the ſame means to eſtabliſh their Hereſie; and rais'd ſuch cruel Perſecutions againſt the true Believers, as the Church hardly ever ſuffer'd from Idolaters. By this means the Weſtern Empire became polluted with *Arianiſm*, whilſt the Eaſt was no leſs diſtracted by the Hereſies of *Eutyches* and *Neſtorius*; and herein the Father of Lies had a great Advantage, for whoever zealouſly oppos'd the *Neſtorian* Errors was branded with the *Eutychian*, and ſo on the contrary, by which means the Church was rent aſunder, and the truly Catholick were to move as between two Rocks,

Rock, to the great Hazard of their Faith, that on each ſide was threaten'd with a Shipwreck.

Leo, in recompence of the great Services *Zeno* had done him upon the Family of *Aſpar*, marry'd him to his Daughter *Ariadne*, and made him Governor of the Eaſt, the Capital of which being *Antioch* he went to reſide there, carrying with him one *Peter* ſirnamed the *Fuller*, who had formerly been a Monk in the Monaſtery of the *Acæmites*, but had been expell'd from thence for his Debaucheries, and Adherence to the *Eutychian* Hereſie, of which he made open Profeſſion. Having met with ſome Perſons of Quality who were infected with the ſame Errors, he inſinuated himſelf by his Flatteries into their Friendſhip, and by that means got Acceſs to *Zeno*, and was favourably receiv'd by him. At *Antioch* he grew acquainted with ſeveral *Apollinariſts*, call'd ſo from an Arch-Heretick in the Fourth Century, who taught *that Jeſus Chriſt was not animated with a Human Soul, the want of which was ſupply'd by the Divinity; that the Fleſh he receiv'd from the Virgin deſcended originally down from Heaven, and only paſs'd through* Mary *as through a Conveyance; and that in adoring it we are to believe it co-eſſential and co-eternal with the Divinity; that in Jeſus Chriſt there were two diſtinct Sons, one of God, the other of the Virgin; that he was at firſt conceiv'd purely like other Men, but that after his Conception the Word deſcended, and operated in him as it had done before in the Prophets, without being united to him; that by his good Works he had obtain'd his Grandeur and Perfection, and was now without a Body; that the Divinity ſuffer'd upon the Croſs; that it dy'd, and was rais'd again*; with ſeveral other as abſurd Dogma's, in which he reſembled the *Manichees* and *Sabellians*, and ſome of which were afterwards copy'd by the *Eutychians*. With theſe Hereticks *Peter*

Zeno *marries* Leo's *Daughter.*

ter join'd himſelf, to calumniate *Martyrius*, Biſhop of the Place, accuſing him for a *Neſtorian*, becauſe he receiv'd the Council of *Chalcedon*, wherein *Eutyches* and his Doctrine were condemn'd; and that he might be the better able to uſurp his See, he perſuaded *Zeno*, either by himſelf or ſome other Apoſtates of the ſame Opinions, that the Church of *Antioch* would never be in order whilſt *Martyrius* preſided in it; of which *Leo* being adviſ'd, he ſent for the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, the better to inform himſelf of the Truth of the Allegations urg'd againſt him. *Martyrius* was ſo powerfully protected at *Conſtantinople* by *Genadius*, Patriarch of the City, that the Emperor was made ſenſible of his Innocence, and the Malice of his Adverſary *Peter*, who in his Abſence had ſeiz'd upon the Epiſcopal Chair, and created one *John* Biſhop of *Apamea*, who had formerly been depos'd. The Emperor being inform'd of his wicked Practices, order'd *Peter* to be baniſh'd, and ſent *Martyrius* back to his Church; who upon his Return finding a great Diviſion among the People, and that *Zeno* favour'd and protected his Adverſaries, publickly abdicated himſelf from the Biſhoprick, ſaying, *I renounce a diſobedient Clergy, a rebellious People, and a defiled Church, reſerving no more to my ſelf than the Sacerdotal Dignity*; and ſo diveſted himſelf of the Epiſcopal Ornaments, to the great Detriment of the Truth, and Encouragement of its Enemies.

A. D. 474. About this time *Leo*, who had held the Reins of the Empire almoſt eighteen Years together, was ſeiz'd with a *Diarrhea*, which was attended with a Feaver, and carry'd him off in a ſhort time. He was a great Prince, wiſe and virtuous, and truly affectionate to the Catholick Religion, as appears by ſeveral Laws he made in favour of it; and the many Churches he built for Religious Worſhip. How-

Leo Dies.

ver

ver he is juſtly tax'd for his too great Indulgence to the *Arians*, and blam'd for that he was not ſufficiently cautious whom he preferr'd, ſuch as *Baſiliſcus* and *Zeno*, who both prov'd bold Aſſertors of Hereſie, and drew great Calamities upon the Empire. Some ſay he ordain'd his Grandſon *Leo*, Son of *Zeno* and his Daughter *Ariadne*, his Succeſſor in the Empire, and appointed *Zeno* for his Guardian, 'till he was at Years of Diſcretion to govern the State himſelf: However it were, he ſurviv'd not his Grandfather above ten Months, and dy'd when he was no more than two Years of Age, and ſo uncapable of regretting the Dignity he loſt.

In the mean time *Julius Nepos*, whom *Leo*, as we obſerv'd before, had appointed for Weſtern Emperor, hearing *Glycerius* had poſſeſs'd himſelf of that Dignity, ſet ſail for *Italy* with a very ſtrong Fleet, and landing near *Rome*, oblig'd *Glycerius* to quit the Imperial Purple, and retire to *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*; of which Place he made him to be ordain'd Biſhop. After which *Nepos* was declar'd Emperor at *Rome*, the Affairs of which City after he had ſettled, he went and reſided at *Ravenna*.

Nepos *declar'd Emperor at* Rome.

During theſe Troubles *Evarich*, or *Eurich*, King of the *Goths* in *Gaul*, encourag'd by ſo many Varieties and Alterations, which had in ſo high a meaſure weaken'd the Empire, fell into the Territories the *Romans* had ſtill left in that Country. *Nepos* ſent *Epiphanes*, Biſhop of *Pavia*, whom we had occaſion to make mention of before, to treat of a Peace with the *Goth*: The Biſhop manag'd the Negotiation very prudently, and concluded a Treaty in no Point diſadvantageous to the *Romans*. But *Eurich* ſoon after, tho' he had ſworn religiouſly to obſerve the Agreement, forcibly ſeiz'd upon *Armagnac*, *Rovergue*, *Perigueux* and *Limoſin*, and at laſt attempted *Clermont*, the Capital of *Auvergne*; but was courageouſly

gerouſly repuls'd by *Ecdicius*, Son of *Avitus*, the late Emperor, aſſiſted by *Sidonius Apollinaris*, his Brother-in-Law, who was Biſhop of the Place, who is ſaid to have wrought Miracles by his Prayers, his Exhortations, and Letters to ſeveral Perſons of Quality, in which he implor'd their Succour in behalf of the diſtreſſed City. *Ecdicius* is reported to have made a Sally in the Day-time, attended with no more than eighteen Horſe, with which he ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Enemy that he put 'em into Diſorder, travers'd through their whole Army, kill'd all that came in his way, forc'd 'em for ſome time to retire from the Walls, and return'd ſafe into the City without the Loſs of one Man. An Action, it is true, worthy to be compar'd with the Exploits of the firſt *Roman* Heroes, and ſufficient to prove that their ancient Valour was not quite extinct, tho' like the departing Soul it ſurviv'd only in Particulars, whereas before it animated the whole Body.

However *Eurich* failing in his Attempts upon the State, rag'd with equal Fury againſt the Church, expelling or impoveriſhing all thoſe who would not embrace *Arianiſm*; and when any of the Paſtors of the Church dy'd he ſuffer'd none but *Arians* to ſucceed 'em, inſomuch that in ſeveral Places the Churches lay in Ruins, the Entrances choak'd with Brambles, and Graſs growing about the Altars; and this was obſervable not only in Country Villages but in great and populous Towns, where the People refus'd to frequent the Publick Aſſemblies. With ſuch Calamities was the Church then oppreſs'd, in *Africk* under the Tyranny and Perſecution of *Genſerich*, in the Weſt under the Cruelties of the *Arians*, and under the like Cruelties of the *Eutychians* in the Eaſt; where *Zeno* upon the Death of his Father *Leo* was acknowledg'd for Emperor, and was ſuſpected to have contributed to his Death. He was no ſooner

The diſtracted Condition of the Church.

Zeno Emperor at Conſtantinople;

ſooner advanc'd to the Imperial Power, but he plung'd himſelf into all manner of Vices, refraining from no filthy or flagitious Act, but ſo wallow'd in his Debaucheries, that he thought it the Weakneſs of a baſe and low Spirit, to cover themſelves in Darkneſs at the Commiſſion of their Wickedneſs, but like the Grandeur of an Emperor, to ſin in broad Day-light; and as he was thus deform'd in his Mind, ſo was his Body ſaid to reſemble a Satyr more than any Human Appearance, for he was cover'd all over with Hair, his Shape was deform'd, and his Phyſiognomy ridiculous, tho' they who beheld him, and knew the Temper of his Mind, found more reaſon to tremble than laugh at the ſight of him. As he was thus Deform'd in his Body, and Debauch'd in his Morals, ſo was he no leſs Corrupt in his Religious Principles; for he openly avow'd himſelf the Protector of Hereſie and Schiſm, and therefore drew upon the Church Calamities unexpreſſible. As ſoon as the Citizens of *Antioch* heard of his Advancement to the Imperial Throne, thoſe of *Peter*'s Faction ſent their Agents to *Conſtantinople*, who, in the Name of the reſt, deſir'd his Re-eſtabliſhment, and brib'd ſeveral of the Courtiers to favour 'em in their Petition to the Emperor, who immediately granted their Requeſt, and *Peter* was once more ſeated in the Apoſtolick Chair of that Province; from whence he immediately denounc'd an *Anathema* againſt the Council of *Chalcedon*, and maintain'd the Errors of the *Apollinarians*, and reſtor'd ſuch Biſhops to their reſpective Sees, as had been formerly depos'd for adhering to *Eutyches*. But God ſuffer'd not the Impiety of *Zeno* to go long unpuniſh'd; for *Baſiliſcus* obſerving him to be a lewd, effeminate Prince, deſpis'd and abhorr'd by the People for his abominable Vices, drew together a Company of Male-

contents, to whom he join'd ſeveral of his own Friends and Adherents, who, united together, rais'd a great Sedition againſt *Zeno* in *Conſtantinople*. *Zeno*, terrify'd at the Uproar, fled in a great Fright with his Wife into *Iſauria*, where he was well belov'd; and *Baſiliſcus* was by the Soldiers ſaluted Emperor, who, having aſſum'd the Title, conferr'd that of *Caſar* upon his Son *Marcus*; and tho' *Baſiliſcus* did not long enjoy his Dignity, but was Dethron'd, put to Death, and *Zeno* reſtor'd; yet, becauſe he grew no better for his Misfortunes, but perſever'd in his brutiſh ſenſual way of Life, he at length came to a violent End, procur'd by his own Wife, who caus'd him one Day, Drunk, as he he was after an exceſſive Debauch of Wine, to be ſhut up in a Sepulchre, and diſpos'd ſome Guards about it, in whom ſhe could confide, to prevent him from getting out. As ſoon as he was recover'd from his Lethargy he made an hideous noiſe, and deſir'd to be releas'd, but was anſwer'd, *The State had no farther Occaſion for him, ſince another was now promoted to his Place*; he reply'd, *He was not at all concern'd at that, he only begg'd 'em to deliver him out of that noiſome Place, and confine him to a Monaſtery if they thought fit, where he might end his Days in Peace*; the Soldiers were deaf to all his Lamentations, ſo that he dy'd in that horrible Reſtraint, having been firſt conſtrain'd, through Hunger, to devour one of his Arms, before his Death. Some, I know, give another Account of this Emperor's End, tho' they all agree in this, that it was violent; and *Ariadne*'s Carriage after his Death, eſpecially her great Care in promoting his Succeſſor, and marrying him ſpeedily upon it, leave no room to doubt what a large ſhare ſhe had in it.

flies into Iſauria.

His Death.

All

All this while the Siege continu'd before *Clermont*, but this Year, after the Beſiegers had made ſeveral Breaches in the Wall, and moſt of the Defendants were deſtroy'd, either by the Sword or ſome other Accidents, too obvious upon thoſe Occaſions, *Ecdicius*, in Deſpair of any Succour, yielded it up; and being ſent for by *Nepos*, was honour'd with the Dignity of Patrician, and *Oreſtes* was ſent into *Gaul* to ſucceed in the Command of the Troops in thoſe Parts. A. D. 475.

This *Oreſtes* was by Birth a *Goth*, and having acquir'd a great Reputation in the Wars, he was made General of the Auxiliary Forces of that Nation in *Italy*. He had upon all Occaſions appear'd very vigorous in his Service to the Empire, and was therefore entruſted at this time with an Army to watch *Eurich* in *Gaul*, and be a Curb to his ambitious Practices. But this Barbarian, inſtead of executing his Commiſſion like a Man of Honour, turn'd his Arms againſt his Maſter, and beſieg'd him in *Ravenna*. He knew *Nepos* was in a weak Condition, and could eaſily be ſuppreſs'd, having ſtripp'd himſelf of thoſe Troops that ſhould have defended him, and committed 'em to his Conduct; ſo that *Nepos* finding himſelf unable to reſiſt him, fled to *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, where he was entertain'd by the Biſhop *Glycerius*, whom the Year before he had depriv'd of the Empire, whilſt *Oreſtes*, meeting with none ſtrong enough to oppoſe him, ſeiz'd on the Imperial Power, and made the Army proclaim his Son *Auguſtulus* Emperor. Thus we ſee the Title, rather than Power, of the Weſtern Empire bandy'd from one to another, and the Imperial Dignity toſs'd from Hand to Hand, without any Reverence or Reſpect, by thoſe Brokers of Majeſty, who adorn'd their Creatures with the Purple, to ſtrut upon the Stage for ſome time, and as

Oreſtes expels Nepos,

and proclaims his Son Auguſtulus *Emperor.*

ſoon as they diſpleas'd 'em thruſt 'em off again. We have ſeen no leſs than ten appearing upon it within the ſpace of twenty Years, moſt of whom came to a violent End in their Perſons, and all of 'em in their Dignities, as if Fortune had been angry with thoſe who dar'd to aſſume the Title, after ſhe had been pleas'd to break or remove the Power.

A. D. 476. *Oreſtes*, having by this means comply'd with his Ambition in providing for his Family, endeavour'd to eſtabliſh it by an Alliance with *Genſerich*, King of the *Vandals*, the moſt powerful of all his Neighbours, and took Care to preſerve the *Roman* Territories in *Gaul* againſt the *Goths*, the *Burgundians* and *Franks*, who very much encroach'd upon 'em. But all his Precautions were to no purpoſe, for thoſe of the Nobility who had been oblig'd by *Nepos*, and eſpous'd his Intereſt, diſdain'd the Tyranny and Uſurpation of a Barbarian, who had dar'd to ſet up for himſelf without their Conſents; and if of Neceſſity they muſt obey a Stranger, they reſolv'd it ſhould be one of their own Choice.

Odoacer *invited into* Italy. Whereupon they ſent an Invitation to *Odoacer*, King of the *Heruli*, to come to their Aſſiſtance, and deliver *Italy*. *Odoacer* was well acquainted with *Oreſtes*, having ſerv'd as his Officer in the Wars; he knew the Eaſtern Empire was diſtracted with Civil Diſſentions, that the Weſt was divided and broken, that the Principal Inhabitants had fix'd their Eyes upon him, and that therefore it would be a Madneſs in him to omit ſo fair an Opportunity of aggrandiſing his Family and gratifying his Ambition, for which reaſon he was reſolved to go whither he was call'd; accordingly he miſs'd a very powerful Army conſiſting of his own Subjects, and ſuch of his Neighbours as he had allur'd by fair Promiſes and hopes of Plunder. In the beginning

ginning of the Spring he paſs'd over the *Danube*, and enter'd into *Bavaria*, where *Severin*, Biſhop of the Country, who was in great Reputation for his Sanctity, came to meet him. *Odoacer* receiv'd him with a great deal of Reſpect, and demanded his Bleſſing, which the Biſhop gave him, and aſſur'd him of a ſucceſsful Expedition. From thence *Odoacer* enter'd into *Trent*, and ſo into the *Veroneze*, and meeting nothing to oppoſe him in his March, he proceeded on to *Lodi* in *Liguria*, where he underſtood *Oreſtes* expected him with all the Forces, both Horſe and Foot, he was able to draw together. *Odoacer* came up to him, and gave him Battel, defeated and forc'd him to fly into *Pavia* with thoſe Troops that ſtuck by him; for the *Goths* forſook him in the Engagement, becauſe he had not divided the third Part of the Land among 'em, as he had formerly promis'd. With theſe Troops he enter'd the Town, thinking to make it good againſt *Odoacer*, becauſe it was well fortify'd, and ſecur'd with a good Garriſon; but *Odoacer* follow'd cloſe after him, laid Siege to the Place, and, after ſome vigorous Aſſaults, took it by Force, and expos'd it to the Pillage of his Soldiers, who deſtroy'd all with Fire and Sword. *Epiphanius*, the renown'd Biſhop of the Place, with much difficulty prevail'd to have his Siſter, and ſome of the beſt Ladies in the Town, exempted from the Outrage of the inſolent Soldiers, a Favour he bought at the Expence of almoſt all he was worth. Here *Odoacer* was ſaluted *King of* Italy, on the 29th of *Auguſt*, a Title which at once ſatisfy'd and made him proud. From *Pavia* he march'd to *Placentia*, which open'd her Gates to him, where he put *Oreſtes* to Death, in the Preſence, and amidſt the Acclamations of the Victorious Army. After this he proceeded to *Ravenna*, which he took by Compoſition,

Slays Oreſtes.

on, and ſlew *Paul*, the Brother of *Oreſtes*, whom he had left Governor in that Town. Hearing *Auguſtulus* had fled for Security to *Rome*, he directed his March with an Intent to Beſiege the City, taking in all the Towns in his way, ſome of which were forc'd to Surrender, and others voluntarily ſubmitted to his Government; as he drew near to *Rome* all the Inhabitants of the City, who expected again to be pillag'd, as they had been ſeveral times before, went out to meet him, and receiv'd him with Acclamations as their Lord and Soveraign.

and Dethrones Auguſtulus.

Auguſtulus, ſeeing it in vain to contend, threw off the Imperial Purple, and implor'd the Grace of the Conqueror, who gave him his Life, and confin'd him to *Lacullanum*, a Caſtle in *Campania*.

The End of the Weſtern Empire.

In *Auguſtulus* fell the very Name of an Empire in the Weſt. *Britain* had long ſince been quitted by the *Romans*; *Spain* was divided among the *Goths*, *Suevi*, *Alans*, and the like; *Africk* was poſſeſs'd by the *Vandals*; the *Goths*, *Burgundians* and *Franks*, had erected their ſeveral Tetrarchies in *Gaul*, and now at leſt *Italy* it ſelf, that for ſome Ages had triumph'd over the reſt of the World, became enſlav'd to a Barbarian King; and *Rome*, which was once the Capital of a large and flouriſhing Empire, is made the Member of a petty Kingdom.

And as there was this thorough Change in the State, ſo was there almoſt as great an Alteration in the Church, and the Purity of Religion ſuffer'd little leſs than a total Eclipſe, when the Majeſty of the Empire was expiring; for as on one ſide Irreligion and Prophaneneſs naturally ſpring out of War and Confuſion, ſo on the other all the Chriſtian World was at preſent under the Dominion either of Heathen or Heretical Princes. The Kings of *Perſia*, and of the *Franks* were Heathens; in the Eaſt

was

was reigning either *Baſiliſcus*, an *Arian*, or *Zeno*, a debauch'd, diſſolute *Eutychian*. All *Africk* was in the Poſſeſſion of *Genſerich*, an obſtinate *Arian*, and a cruel Perſecutor of the Catholick Chriſtians. *Eurich* was of the like Temper in *Gaul*, *Odoacer* in *Italy*, and the Kings in *Spain* were as zealous Aſſerters of the ſame damnable Hereſie. So that from theſe Conſiderations we may reaſonably conclude, it requir'd the ſame Almighty Power to preſerve the Chriſtian Faith pure and undefiled, as it did at firſt to eſtabliſh it; nor are we to wonder if, in that long Night of Ignorance and Error, the Enemy took the Advantage of Sowing his Tare among the good Seed, which in ſucceeding Ages brought forth ſo plentiful an Harveſt.

Odoacer continu'd for ſome time at *Rome*, where he aſſum'd the Sovereign Power and Abſolute Dominion, which however he us'd with much Moderation, for he refus'd the Purple, and other Imperial Ornaments, contenting himſelf with the Marks of Royalty. He diligently apply'd himſelf to the Settlement of Affairs in his new Kingdom, and the Security of his late Conqueſts; for this Reaſon he courted the Friendſhip of the *Goths*, which *Oreſtes* had call'd in to his Aſſiſtance, aſſigning 'em a third Part of the Lands in *Italy*, which he had promis'd 'em; for the preſent he ſet aſide the Dignity of Conſuls in *Rome*, becauſe they ſeem'd to aſſume too great and unreaſonable a Power; and that his Subjects might be induc'd both to fear and reſpect him, he gave 'em ſome publick Examples of his Juſtice and Severity. When he had diſpos'd of all things according to his Will and Pleaſure at *Rome*, he went and ſettled at *Ravenna*, where he uſually kept his Court.

From this time forward we hardly meet with the very Shadow of the ancient *Roman* Greatneſs, which

which as it exceeded all that ever went before it, ſo has it been equall'd by none ſince. The various Fortunes of this mighty State afford our Thoughts a Proſpect full of Admiration and Curioſity, whether we conſider it in its Birth, in its Eſtabliſhment, or Diſſolution; for certainly no People ever experienc'd ſo many Forms of Government, and yet flouriſh'd with equal Vigour in 'em all. Such Changes and Revolutions, as like Earthquakes would have torn up other Nations, made them the ſtronger; and Difficulties, that would have weigh'd down and diſſolv'd other Governments, render'd them the more invincible. Their Greatneſs, at which the reſt of the World ſtood amaz'd, was in few reſpects accidental, in moſt eſſential, and their Riſe, as well as Fall, was owing not ſo much to Fortune as themſelves. From a Pack of looſe Vagabonds and wand'ring Shepherds, they form'd themſelves, by degrees, into a Civil Society, and before they knew what Law and Government meant learn'd to obey, firſt a Succeſſion of Kings, different in their Tempers, and contradictory in their Maxims; the gentle Diſpenſation of a Legal Monarchy grew, by degrees, corrupted to an unbounded Tyranny; and that on a ſudden was ſoften'd into the Freedom of a Common-wealth; and yet in all theſe Revolutions they puſh'd on without Intermiſſion, to that which from the beginning they ſeem'd to have in view, the Univerſal Empire. That Maxim, which compares different Forms of Government to different Climates, and ſuppoſes this agreeable to one Nation, and that to another, would not have held with them; for they who were one Day to be the Commanders of the whole World, ought to have a Genius as extenſive as their Dominions. Their Power became more enlarg'd abroad under the Imperial Dignity,

but

but then by degrees they grew more enſlav'd at home, and their Greatneſs being arriv'd at its Meridian ſhone with too intenſe a Heat, and foretold a Declenſion; which however proceeded not ſo much from the Depravity of the People in general, as from the Luxury, Sloth, Pride and Ambition of their Emperors; ſome of whom holding the Reins too ſtraight, others too remiſs, are an Inſtance to us how much the Welfare of a Nation depends upon the Diſpoſitions of its Prince, whoſe Heart is in the Hand of Providence, the great Ruler of the Univerſe.

This great Revolution in the Weſt happen'd about 522 Years after the Battel of *Pharſalia*, which gave a Beginning to the Empire; 501 after the full Settlement of it under *Auguſtus*; 380 after the laſt of the twelve *Caſars*; 146 after the Removal of the Imperial Seat to *Byzantium*; about 101 after the Admiſſion of the *Goths* into *Thrace*; 66 from the firſt Captivity of *Rome*; and 476 after the Nativity of our Saviour.

A N



AN

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